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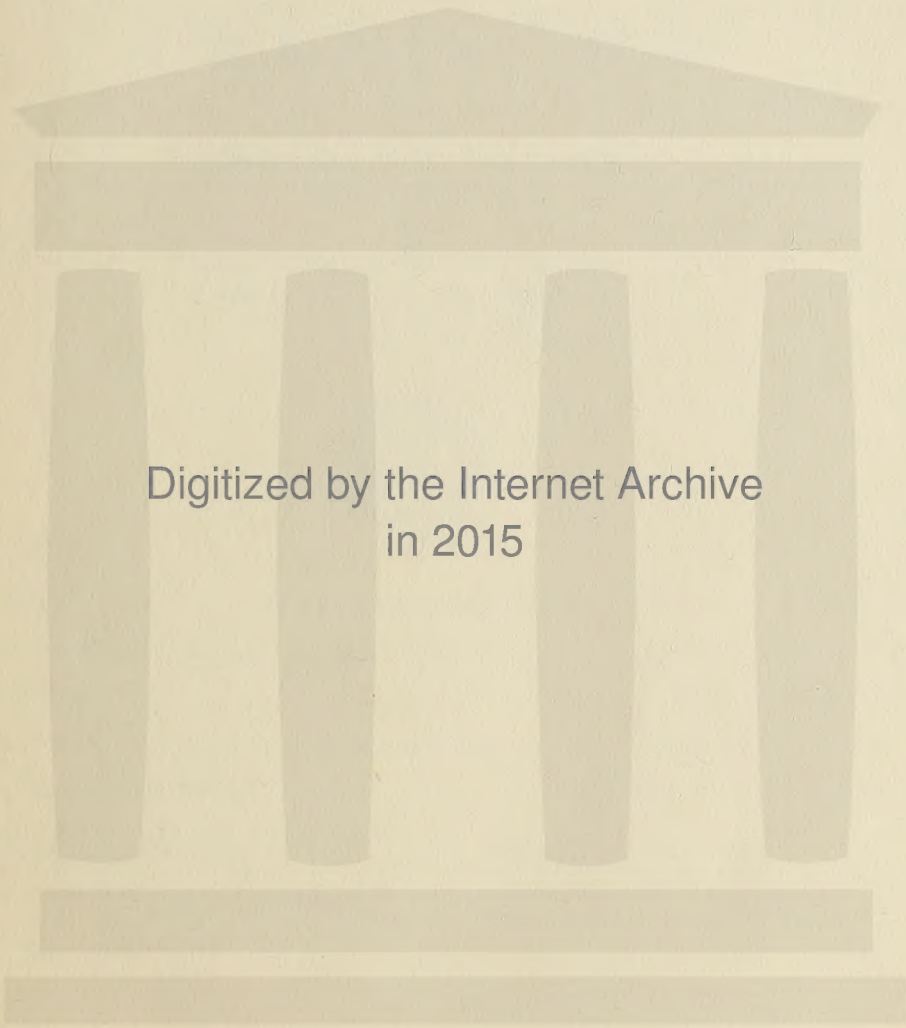

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Chronicles of Oklahoma

Volume XIV March, 1936 Number 1, Sec. 1

REPORT OF GRANT FOREMAN, A DIRECTOR OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, TO THE BOARD.

I present herewith a condensed report of material secured by me from various sources and deposited in the archives of this society. The most of this is in the form of typewritten copies, the originals of which are to be seen in various archives in Washington and other cities. From time to time over a number of years these originals were selected by me and copied by typists under my direction. Afterward the copies were bound and are now in our vault where they are available under the rules of the Society for inspection by persons interested in them.

1. A volume of 402 typewritten pages containing copies of manuscripts in the office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington relating to the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, Seminole, Delaware, Osage and Quapaw Indians, covering the period from 1831 to 1860. This collection, identified as Volume 1, is entitled "Miscellaneous files from Office of Indian Affairs."

2. A smaller volume of 315 typed pages identified as Volume 2 of "Miscellaneous files from Office of Indian Affairs," contains copies of manuscripts relating to the Creek, Chickasaw and Cherokee Indians.

3. Copies of early manuscripts making approximately 600 typewritten pages. A considerable part of this was acquired by me from a friend in Van Buren, Arkansas, who rescued the originals from the wreckage of an old warehouse; they include bills of lading for goods shipped up the Arkansas River to merchants in the Indian Territory from 1858 to 1862, disclosing the names of many persons identified with the history of that period. The volume includes also copies of miscellaneous documents secured from Washington and covering the period from 1845 to 1865.

4. A volume of 470 typed pages, copies of manuscripts in the office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington, D. C., relating to the Choctaw, Creek, Chickasaw and other Indians and covering the period from 1830 to 1839.

5. A volume of 291 typed pages being copies of manuscripts in the Office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs relating to the Cherokee Indians from 1830 to 1840.

6. A volume of 381 typed pages, copes of manuscripts in the office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs relating to the Creek and Seminole Indians and covering the period from 1831 to 1840.

7. A volume of 342 pages being copies of manuscripts in the office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs relating to the Osage and Seminole Indians, the Western Superintendency, and to the general subject of schools among the Indians of Oklahoma covering the period from 1829 to 1842.

8. A volume of approximately 200 pages, copies of original manuscripts in the office of the Commissioner of Indian affairs relating to the Cherokee, Chickasaw and Choctaw Indians and covering the period from 1839 to 1859.

9. A volume of 178 typewritten pages being copies of manuscripts in the office of Indian Affairs in Washington relating to treaties and litigation resulting from the claims of loyal citizens of the Indian Territory entitled for "losses sustained during the War of the Rebellion." These papers all bear date from about 1865 to 1867.

10. A volume of 197 typewritten pages, being copies of original manucripts in the office of the Adjutant General in Washington in the files known as "Old Records Division" and "Headquarters of the Army," covering the period from 1839 to 1849.

11. A photostatic copy extending to 245 pages of the "Fort Gibson Letter Book 1834-1836", the original of which is in the office of the Adjutant General at Washington.

12. In 1927 while I was engaged in research in Washington, the Board of Directors in session in Oklahoma City through Judge R. L. Williams requested me to compile the records of the early postoffices in Oklahoma, the board having authorized the expenditure of the necessary funds. For this purpose I employed people

to help me compile the information from the early records of the postoffice department. This compilation was afterward published in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* beginning with page 4 in Volume 6, being the March 1928 number and continuing through the March 1929 number to page 33 of Volume 7, having thus run through five issues of the *Chronicles.*

13. While I was again in Washington in 1928 the Board at its May session adopted a resolution requesting me to compile the records of the Indians who served in the Confederate Army, and likewise authorized the expenditure of the necessary funds for the purpose. This work was afterwards performed by a force of twenty people employed by me and the result appears in two volumes in the vault of the society covering over 700 pages and more than 13,000 names.

The following material also was selected and typed by copyists employed by me and afterward assembled and filed in the archives of the society:

14. A volume of 57 typewritten pages bearing the title "Extracts from 'The Diary of the Moravian Missions among the Cherokee Indians, 1833, 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838'," and being copies of the archives in the Moravian Church at Winston-Salem, N. C. These were translated from the German and typed by Miss Adelaide L. Fries, archivist of the Moravian Church at Winston-Salem.

15. A volume of 347 typed pages, copies of manuscripts and newspaper articles selected by me in the State Department of Archives and History of Montgomery, Alabama, relating to the Creek Indians and covering the period from 1831 to 1915.

16. A volume of typed pages copied from the "George Gaines papers" now on deposit and seen by me in the Department of Archives and History at Jackson, Mississippi.

17. A volume of 250 typed pages being copies of original letters relating to the missionary activities of Miss Alice M. Robertson's father, Rev. W. S. Robertson, and grandfather, Rev. S. A. Worcester, and covering the period from 1838 to 1917. These letters were made available to me by the late Mrs. N. B. Moore, sister of Miss Alice Robertson, who furnished a large amount of

supplemental material to explain and amplify the letters which appear in this volume in a series of notes prepared by me.

18. A volume of 250 pages, being additional copies of letters from the family of Miss Alice Robertson and a body of material relating to John Ross, Chief of the Cherokee Nation, covering the period from 1836 to 1933.

19. A volume of 255 typed pages, copies of the journals of the International Indian Council held at Okmulgee in the Creek Nation in June 1872, May 1873, May 1875 and September 1875. The originals of these were borrowed by me from the owners and copied for the Society.

20. Two volumes comprising 1145 typed pages being copies of letters written by and to the Rev. Cyrus Byington missionary among the Choctaw Indians from 1820 to 1866. These letters were loaned to me by Mr. E. S. Byington of DeQueen, Arkansas, a grandson of the Rev. Cyrus Byington. They are made more valuable by the addition of 89 pages of footnotes by Peter J. Hudson.

21. A volume of 182 typewritten pages prepared by the late Mr. W. B. Alberty, Cherokee, of Westville, Oklahoma, entitled, "Cherokee Indians, Life and Customs." The value of this material lies in the effort by a Cherokee Indian to picture the life of the Cherokees and is not held out to be of strict historical verity.

22. After I had supervised for five years the classifying and calendaring of the Indian material at Muskogee performed by Mrs. Rella Watts and authority was granted by Congress for the removal of these records to the building of the Oklahoma Historical Society in Oklahoma City, we prepared inventories of these papers in order to leave a copy with the Superintendent for the Five Civilized Tribes in accordance with the terms of the Act of Congress. This inventory is as follows:

23. Inventory of Seminole and Chickasaw records transferred from the office of Superintendent for the Five Civilized Tribes at Muskogee, to Oklahoma Historical Society, and catalogued by the historical society; 384 typewritten pages.

24. Inventory of Creek tribal records transferred from the office of the Superintendent for the Five Civilized Tribes at

Muskogee, to Oklahoma Historical Society, and catalogued by the historical society; 701 typewritten pages.

25. Inventory of Cherokee tribal records transferred from office of the Superintendent for the Five Civilized Tribes, Muskogee, Oklahoma, to the Oklahoma Historical Society, and catalogued by the historical society; 264 typewritten pages.

26. Inventory of the Choctaw tribal records transferred from the office of Superintendent for the Five Civilized Tribes, Muskogee, Oklahoma, to the Oklahoma Historical Society, and catalogued by the society; 448 typewritten pages.

27. A volume of 785 typed pages, copies of miscellaneous documents in the office of the Superintendent for the Five Civilized Tribes at Muskogee, and some other documents of historical interest loaned to me by individuals; also a compilation of Choctaws who received their education in advanced schools outside the State of Oklahoma. This compilation was prepared by Peter J Hudson.

28. In connection with these steps for acquiring this material for the historical society, at the request of the Board of Directors I prepared a survey of the historical material in the various Indian agencies in Oklahoma. This survey was made available to members of Congress at the time the bill was under consideration and has since been distributed to historical societies and other learned societies.

29. I discovered in the Library of Congress a file of the *Indian Advocate* published in Louisville, Kentucky, from 1847 to 1855. This was a Baptist publication which contained a vast amount of descriptive correspondence from the Indian Territory; I secured a photostatic copy of it for our archives where it forms a valuable addition to our historical material relating to the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes.

30. An autobiography of Mary Ann Lilley, wife of John Lilley, missionary to the Creeks and Seminoles was loaned to me by Judge C. Guy Cutlip of Wewoka. I had it typed and the copy is now in the vault of the historical society.

31. In addition I have secured interviews with a number of elderly pioneers of this country. In some instances I took a

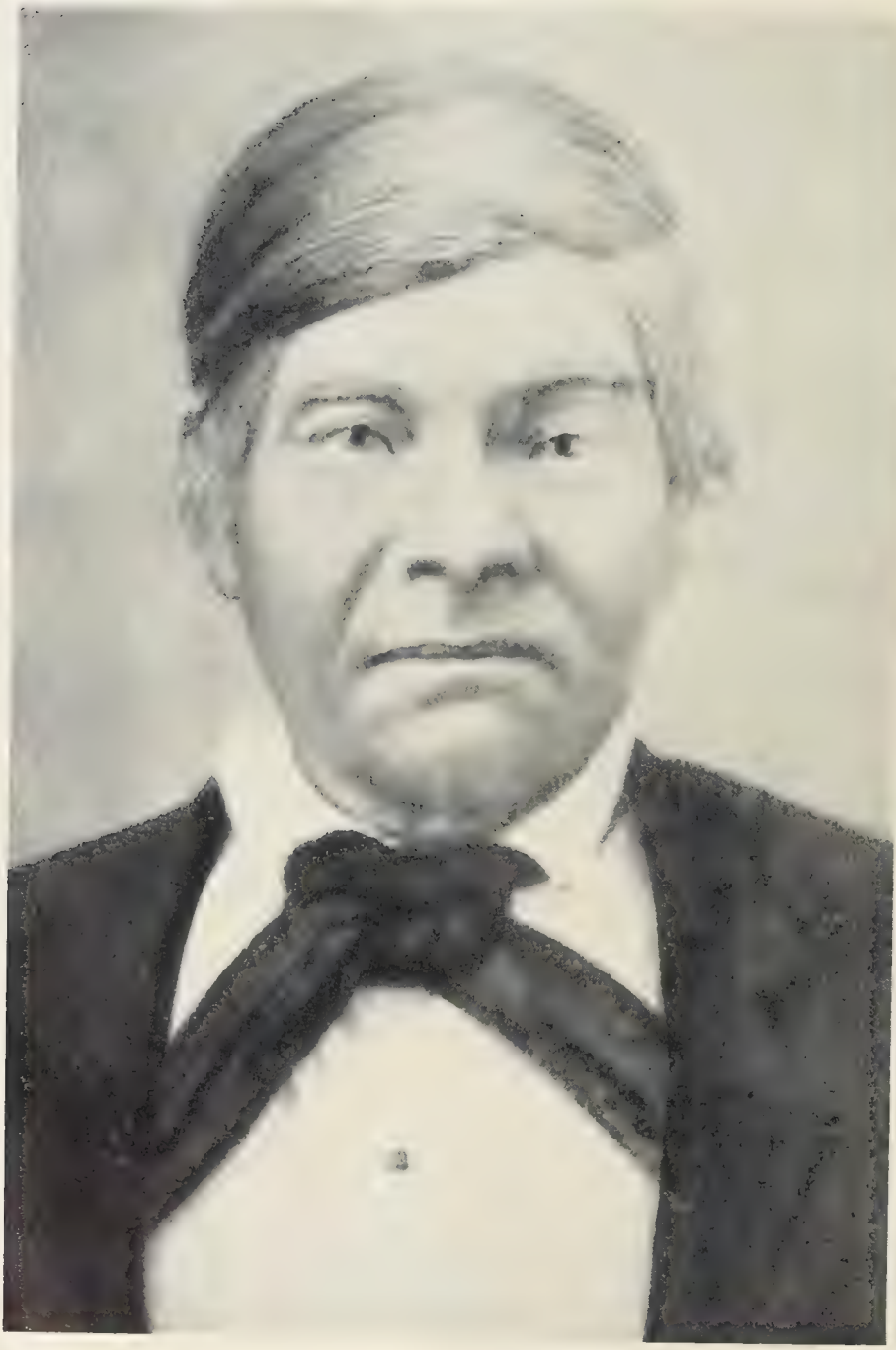
stenographer to the home of the subject to be interviewed. In other cases in order to secure these interviews to the best advantage Mrs. Foreman and I asked the subjects to our home where we entertained them and had stenographers present to take down the conversations regarding their recollections of facts and accounts detailed to them by other pioneers long since passed away. Among those interviewed were: Mrs. Edith Walker, granddaughter of Rev. Samuel A. Worcester, Mrs. Frank Swift, Mrs. Sue Rogers, R. P. Vann, Clarence B. Turner, Mrs. N. B. Moore, sister of Miss Alice Robertson, W. H. Balentine of Tahlequah, Mrs. Carrie Breedlove of Muldrow, Oklahoma, and Capt. John West. The five last named have since died but the society is in possession of historical material of great value and interest by reason of the interviews obtained from them. As this is written the venerable Cherokee R. P. Vann is reported at the point of death.

32. During the lifetime of Mr. Thomas Blair I secured a picture of the home of Sequoyah purchased by Mr. Blair's father from Sequoyah's widow, together with a statement and affidavit by Mr. Blair as to the facts establishing this house as Sequoyah's home.

33. Last year I made a trip to Fayetteville, Arkansas, where I found and made notes of considerable material in the Washington County court house relating to the history of the Cherokee Indians and other early settlers in the country adjacent to the boundary between that state and the Cherokee Nation. These and other miscellaneous notes and copies of diaries and other manuscripts are in the vault of this Society.

This inventory of material secured by me it is hoped, will be helpful to students and others interested, as probably few members of the Society are aware of its existence. As this material of near nine thousand pages was acquired from time to time and temporarily bound, a rearrangement, classification, indexing and rebinding of much of it is greatly needed in order to make it more accessible and therefore more useful to the student. I intend to give this my attention as soon as I can spare the time and necessary funds and help are available.

Grant Foreman.



CHIEF COLEMAN COLE

CHIEF COLEMAN COLE

By

John Bartlett Meserve.

Where tall oaks fringed the upper reaches of the east branch of the Batupan Bogue in what is today Webster County, Mississippi, in the middle decades of the 18th century, was situated the Indian village of Oski Hlopal (Lyon's Bluff) of the now forgotten Shakchi-Humma[1] tribe. The Indians of this tribe were of Choctaw origin and were of a wild, arrogant, warlike ambition. War was the great adventure of the Indian tribes during that period and division in their alliance with the English settlers and the French traders provoked flames of tribal dissension. A fragment of the Shawnees who had settled along the Cumberland River in Tennessee, were allied with the French traders in that region and fought against the Chickasaws for many years. Subsequently, the Shawnees were to be driven north and across the Ohio River by the Cherokees. The Shakchi-Hummas also were disposed to friendship with the French and enjoyed peaceful relations with this band of Tennessee Shawnees, but were ever in a militant posture toward the Chickasaws who were allied with the English.

Numerous attacks were made by these Shawnees upon the English colonists in the Carolinas and western Virginia in the middle of the 18th century.[2] In a "History of Washington County, Virginia," by Lewis Preston Summers (1903) on page 58 is a statement that "The settlers on the New River in western Virginia built a fort, known as Fort Vause. This was about ten miles west of the present city of Christiansburg, Montgomery County, Virginia. This was invested by the Indians in 1755 and captured and its defenders slain or carried into captivity." Upon succeeding pages is given a list of the persons slain or captured during the years 1754-5-6 and on page 59 appears this notation,

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[1]Referred to variant as "Shakchi-homa," "Chocchuma," "Chakchiuma" and "Chokchooma."

"Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi," Bureau of Ethnology, Bulletin 43, pp. 292-6, by Swanton.

[2]"Handbook of American Indians," Bureau of Ethnology, Bulletin 30, part 2, page 532.

"June 25, 1756, ——— Cole, Fort Vause, prisoner." This foray by the Indians occurred during our French and Indian War and these depredations doubtless were an inspiration of the French traders.

The warriors of the Shakchi-Hummas became decimated by wars during this period with the Chickasaws and other tribes of friendly disposition toward the English. It is recorded that this tribe replenished its depleting ranks by the adoption of white captives and friendly Indians from other tribes fleeing from the terrors of the warfare into which the tribes had become so generally drawn by this conflict between the English and the French.[3] Cole, the Virginia captive among the Shawnees in Tennessee doubtless became an unwilling participant in the continuous strife between that tribe and the Chickasaws, but from which he may have escaped and taken refuge among the friendly Shakchi-Hummas. At any rate, about this time, a white man bearing the name of Roscoe Cole appears as a member of the Shakchi-Hummas when he weds a young Indian maiden of that tribe by the name of Shumaka and by her becomes the father of four daughters and one son, ere he fades completely from the picture under rather tragic circumstances. His life presents a story of compelling fascination.

About the year 1775, the Chickasaws aided by a few Choctaws, concluded a three years' war with the Shakchi-Hummas, whom they greatly outnumbered, by a surprise attack on the Indian village of Oski Hlopal and in a merciless engagement lasting throughout the day massacred practically the entire membership of that tribe. A few women and children were spared and taken over and adopted by the Choctaws, but the Shakchi-Hummas as a tribal entity were completely erased. During these crucial hours, Roscoe Cole, the white captive, was enabled to effect his escape from the carnage and from his enforced residence among the Indians, by the aid of Shumaka,[4] his self-sacrificing Indian wife, the details of which are shrouded. He faded away in an aura of mystery which has never been penetrated, but his was not

[3]"History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw and Natchez Indians," by Cushman, p. 243.

[4]Shumaka appears variant as Shomaka and Shunahka. For extended narrative of this massacre, see "History of Choctaw, Chickasaw and Natchez Indians," by Cushman, p. 242 et seq., and Mississippi Historical Publications, Vol. V, pp. 304-5.

an exceptional instance. Not infrequently, the captive white man waved good bye to civilization and kindred, took an Indian woman for a wife and finished nobody knows where. Many an Indian Chief's folks on his father's side wore high top boots and a white shirt. Shumaka was saved from massacre and this, it is recorded, was because of her beauty. Taking her five children, she went to live among the Choctaws.

The life of Shumaka was colorful and forms an impressive story and such details of her life as have been preserved are not wholly irrelevant. After her adoption by the Choctaws, she lived in the vicinity of the present town of Elliott, Grenada County, Mississippi. Although her life story is rather obscure, some alluring fragments of her history are preserved and we learn that she served as a cook in the Choctaw contingent of General Jackson's army in the Creek War of 1813-14. She was very aged at the time of the removal treaty of 1830 and elected to remain in Mississippi as the treaty enabled her. In 1838, the startling declaration is made by Coleman Cole, her grandson, in his famous deposition, that she had attained the age of 120 years with eye sight and other faculties unimpaired. The span of years so ascribed for her seems historically incredible. The struggle of life and the hardships endured during that period, noted for its wars and its annihilations of many tribes, provoked a break in the outward appearance of the affected Indians until at the age of 75 or 90 years, they appeared aged beyond safe conjecture. She doubtless survived to a ripened old age. A daughter of Shumaka married Daniel McCurtain and another daughter wedded Garrett E. Nelson, a white man and became a grandmother of the three McCurtain chiefs of the Choctaws in the old Indian Territory.[5] Captain Atoka and Greenwood Le Flore are referred to as nephews of Robert Cole but just how that relationship arose is not exactly clear. These details enlist an interest as we pause in homage to the Indian maiden whose personal charms preserved her life, to enrich her illustrious posterity with one of the most romantic incidents in our history.

Robert Cole, the son of Shumaka and Roscoe Cole, the captive white man, was born at or near the old Indian village of

[5]"The McCurtains," Chronicles, Vol. 13, p. 299.

Oski Hlopal about 1774 and achieved much prominence in the tribal affairs of the Choctaws in Mississippi. As one of the leading men of the tribe, he signed the treaty of October 24, 1816,[6] the treaty of Doak's Stand near the Natchez Road of October 18, 1820[7] and the treaty of January 20, 1825[8] at Washington. Among the delegates dispatched to Washington to negotiate the latter treaty were Pushmataha, Moshulatubbe, Daniel McCurtain and Apukshunnubbi. Apukshunnubbi sustained a fatal injury by falling from the gallery of a hotel at Maysville, Kentucky while enroute to Washington and Robert Cole, who accompanied the party, was substituted in his stead. The old chief Pushmataha also died at Washington during this trip. It was during this engagement that Robert Cole met General La Fayette in Washington on November 24, 1824. Section X of the treaty of 1825 designated Robert Cole as chief of the district which theretofore had been presided over by Apukshunnubbi and fixed his salary at $150 per year to be paid by the Government. He served as chief of his district for about two years when he yielded the position to Greenwood Le Flore whom he called his nephew and from thenceforth the district became known as Greenwood Le Flore District. Robert Cole was also a party signatory of the famous Removal Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek of September 27, 1830[9] and by the terms of Article XIX of that treaty, two sections of land were set aside to him.

It will be observed that Robert Cole affixed his signature to each of these treaties, by mark, which would indicate his deficiency in education. He did not speak nor understand the English language. He was very profoundly interested however, in the education of the members of his family and of his people and took a great interest in the mission schools when they were established among the Choctaws.[10] His children were sent to Elliott Mission at Mayhew and of a visit which he made to that mission on November 29, 1821, the Mission Herald says, "He said he wished Coleman, his son, to remain here till he received a good education and that he might stay ten years, if necessary. He did

[6]Kappler, Vol. II, p. 137.
[7]Kappler, Vol. II, p. 191.
[8]Kappler, Vol. II, p. 211.
[9]Kappler, Vol. II, p. 310.
[10]"The Choctaw Missions," *Chronicles*, Vol. 4, p. 166.

not wish to take him home till he was educated. As Capt. Cole is a man of a firm mind and excellent native sense, and as he has great influence with the Choctaws, we consider ourselves called upon to bless God for these favorable appearances."[11] This contemporary analysis of his character and of the status of Robert Cole among his people is of much interest. The Choctaw census of Greenwood Le Flore District for 1831 listed the family of Robert Cole as numbering 20 persons.

Article XIV of the Removal Treaty of 1830 contained provisions whereby members of the Choctaw tribe might avoid the emigration to the West by indicating such an intention within six months. Those who elected to remain in Mississippi were each to receive individual rights to some specific tract of land upon which each was to reside for at least five years and ultimately were to become recognized citizens of the State. The terms of this option appear to have been but vaguely understood by the Indians and the rigid enforcement of its terms by the United States Commissioners provoked great difficulty for the Indians who undertook to remain. The Indians, in many instances were indifferent about their occupancy of their lands, much controversy arose and many of the Indians were dispossessed of their lands by ambitious white settlers. The land claims of the Indians, in many instances, were denied. Under authority of Congress, a proceeding was instituted in the Court of Claims at Washington, known as "Choctaw Nation vs. United States" in an effort to relieve the Indians who had lost or were losing their lands. In 1837-8, Commissioners were dispatched to Mississippi to receive claims and preserve sworn testimony in their support. Shumaka having been dispossessed of her lands by a white man, her claim was presented and on February 17, 1838, Coleman Cole, her grandson, made his deposition[12] in support of her claim, in which he states, "That he is acquainted with Shumaka. She is his grandmother. He has known her as long as he can recollect. Saw her about twenty days ago. She was then at Puttacaowa Creek (Grenada County at present) where she lived on witness' land. She is very old. She is represented to be 120. She is unable to travel any distance. At the time of the treaty

[11]Mission Herald, Vol. 18, p. 78.
[12]Depositions in "Choctaw Nation vs. United States," Vol. 1, p. 844.

she lived on Bettupin Bogue about 18 or 19 miles from its mouth.[13] She had no children living with her. * * * She lived there at and before the Treaty and remained there until the land she lived on was sold by the Government at the first sale at Chocehoma, after which a white man required her to move. Before this she had a field and house in which she lived. He (witness) assisted her in making a crop. He has no recollection of her husband, his grandfather. He has heard her say she belonged to the Shakchi-homa tribe. That she was young at the massacre of her tribe by the Chickasaws and others. She made her husband escape and got among the Choctaws who adopted her as a Choctaw. She is the mother of Robert Cole, the witness's father. The Shakchi-homas lived in a village and were surprised by the Chickasaws at break of day and were all murdered with few exceptions. They were killing them all day. About 200 escaped among the Choctaws. These merged in the Choctaw tribe and the Shakchi-homa name abandoned. Her faculties are in a great degree unimpaired. She can see to work with her naked eyes and hears well." On January 30, 1838, Robert Cole also makes a deposition[14] from which briefly is quoted, "That he is a half blood Choctaw. That he resided at the date of the Treaty on Yalobusha River, about half way up to its head, in Yalobusha County. That he left his residence about five years since and has had no settled residence since that time, but has always remained in the county." He then proceeds to support the claims of certain of his relatives which include Daniel McCurtain, the Nelsons, Fraziers, Captain Atoka and Coleman Cole. The Commissioners compiled a roll of these unfortunate Indians, the names of Shumaka, Robert Cole and Coleman Cole appearing upon this list of the Choctaw Indians still living in Mississippi. Coleman Cole was employed by and assisted the officers of the Government, under the supervision of one Joshua T. Brown, in an investigation of the claims of these Indians for which service he was paid two dollars per day and expenses.

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[13]Deposition of Coleman Cole in "Choctaw Nation vs. United States," Vol. 1, p. 202-3, wherein he describes the lands so occupied by Shumaka as being the NE¼ of Sec. 27, Twp. 21, Rng. 7.

[14]Depositions in "Choctaw Nation vs. United States," Vol. 1, p. 175.

Under the Act of August 23, 1842,[15] a new Commission proceeded to Mississippi to compile a new roll of the Choctaws remaining in that state and to whom script was to be issued in lieu of the lands which had been denied them. Upon this later list issued in 1843, the name of Coleman Cole appears. The names of Shumaka and Robert Cole are missing. Shumaka had probably passed away and Robert Cole had taken the "Trail of Tears" to the old Indian Territory. Oppressive conditions had probably divested him of his acres in Mississippi. His emigration occurred sometime after 1838. He established himself about five miles west of the present town of Moyer, in what is today, Pushmataha County, Oklahoma, where he died in the summer of 1842 and is buried in an unknown and unmarked grave on his old home place. Robert Cole was a devoted member of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. He was a faithful pilgrim on Life's Highway and must not be consigned to mediocrity in the early history of the Choctaws.

Coleman Cole, the colorful Choctaw Chieftain, a son of Robert Cole and Sallie, his full blood Choctaw Indian wife, was born in old Yalobusha County, Mississippi, about the year 1800. He attended school at Elliott Mission at Mayhew, Mississippi and later at Georgetown, Kentucky and in 1833 resided on the site of the Indian village where the Shakchi-Hummas were massacred by the Chickasaws in 1775. He did not join the emigrant parties of the Choctaws immediately after the removal treaty, but undertook to establish his permanent home in Mississippi, under the terms of section XIV. The care of Shumaka, his grandmother, who was then very aged and probably helpless, was dutifully undertaken by Coleman Cole and this situation may have been an influencing factor. His native ability, sharpened by his meager training in the mission schools where he had mastered the English which he spoke rather brokenly, brought him a modest recognition among his people in Choctaw County, where he served as a justice of the peace for four years. Ere he was to leave Mississippi, he suffered the death of his wife and their two children. With other disappointed Choctaws who had been denied lands in Mississippi he agreed to accept script, the initial half payment being made in 1843. When the time approached for the payment

[15] 5 Stat. L. p. 513.

of the last half, the Government announced that such payment[16] would be made in cash but only to those Choctaws who removed to the Indian Territory. This action provoked the removal of many of the remaining Choctaws in 1845 and subsequent years. Coleman Cole joined the Choctaws in the West at that time. Fatigued by his efforts in Mississippi and quite thoroughly disillusioned anent the white man's unselfish interest in his people, he journeyed to his fellow tribesmen who had removed their troubles to the old Indian Territory.

It was in accord with the rustic nature of Coleman Cole that he should seek the cloistered vales of the Kiamichis when he first established his home in the old Choctaw Nation. His lone cabin was in a wild, isolated section, "where the deer and the antelope roam," some twenty miles northeast of the present city of Antlers, in what was then Cedar County, Choctaw Nation, but today Pushmataha County, Oklahoma. He began very early to evidence an interest in tribal politics and served as a member of the National Council from Cedar County in 1850, 1855, 1871 and 1873. He is said to have served as a district judge of his county for several years.

Coleman Cole was a stock raiser after a modest fashion. His tillage of the soil was quite abbreviated being intended solely to supply his necessary food. His flocks consisting of cattle, hogs and Choctaw ponies easily supplied the "abundant life" of primitive comfort and enjoyment to his liking. Barbecued beef, and fresh pork were ever in abundance and occasionally venison was served as a complement to the rather wild life of the country. His home was equally as picturesque as was its famous occupant. He lived in a one room hewed log cabin which was surrounded by a regular village of kitchen, cribs, smoke house, potato house, guest room, room for the family and for the hired help, all in single cabins scattered about over the yard. He usually dined in the yard where dogs were plentiful and could be fed with the barbecued bones that were tossed to them as the meal progressed. When he was made chief of the Nation, he added a second story or "upstairs" to his cabin which he used as a dining room upon state occasions. Coleman Cole was a poor man in everything ex-

[16] 5 Stat. L. 777.

cept food and all classes of men who paused at his threshold, were heartily welcomed. Fine dress or any sort of ostentation did not appeal to him. As for household furniture in his one room cabin, he had none, but slept on the floor and wore the dowdiest of clothing. Most primitive were his modes of travel which consisted of a rawhide saddle and pestle tail Indian pony. During his incumbency as Chief, he always wore a silk hat, then called a "Beegum" which only augmented his ludicrous appearance. It is difficult to feature this old Indian, of medium height and thick brushy hair that hung down to his shoulders, wearing a hunting coat of many colors and riding a Choctaw pony scarcely as tall as himself and attired in a tall silk hat, riding along the trails of the Choctaw country. One is reminded of the Grand Mogul of some secret society on lodge night. He had married again, a woman by the name of Abbie and by her, had two children who died early in life. This eccentric Indian was a most consistent member of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church and an Elder of that faith. He was faithful to the highest inspirations of his religious belief. In the heart of Coleman Cole, God was a preferred creditor. The use of intoxicating liquors never engaged his interest. Thus is disrobed the homely, primitive life of Coleman Cole, ere we pass on to his picturesque career as chieftain of the Choctaws. That from these crude environs there should evolve a leadership of the highest probity and fidelity to his people, challenges more than a passing interest.

Many years after their removal to the West, the Choctaws began to appraise the wrongs they had suffered by the failure of the Government to fulfill its obligations under the Removal Treaty. They had never been recompensed for the cattle and other property they had been compelled to abandon at the time of the removal. Those who had paid their own expenses had not been reimbursed and those who had elected to remain in Mississippi had lost their lands through the hostility of the white neighbors. As a finale, after deducting all of the expenses of removal, the Government had realized a large profit from the sale of their Mississippi lands to white settlers. In 1853, the Choctaws initiated a prolonged effort to induce the Government to pay them the "Net Proceeds" or the amount realized from the sale of the lands after deducting the expense of removal and survey. An

award was made in 1859 but the Civil War intervened, payment was postponed and the Net Proceeds Claim became a political football in the otherwise well ordered affairs of the Choctaw Nation. Profligate attorneys' contracts were entered into and agreements were made with delegations which were sent to Washington. These engagements involved the payment of one half of the monies which the Indians expected to receive from the Government. The alluring situation provoked one political escapade after another as designing political leaders rivaled to hook this biggest fish in the troubled waters of Choctaw Nation politics. As chairman of the legislative committee in the Council, Coleman Cole in January, 1874, reported a bill invalidating these contracts, which became a law on February 3, 1874.

In August 1874, Coleman Cole was elected chief of the Choctaws as a member of the Full Blood or Shaki (Buzzard) party and the Net Proceeds matter at once engaged his attention. He urged that all payments should be made direct, by the Government to the individual claimants. Numerous were the appeals he made to Congress and to the President in his picturesque English. He caused a court of claims to be established and a roll made of those entitled to participate in the expected disbursement. A copy of this roll was mailed by the chief to President Grant with a request that a detachment of soldiers should be sent along to guard the money when it was paid out to the claimants. The Net Proceeds Claim became a fetich with the chief. No finger of corruption was ever pointed at Chief Cole as he honestly though in a rather bungling manner, endeavored to secure this much belated award for his people.

He removed, in March 1875, to the vicinity of Atoka where he established his executive office and where he could be found on Mondays and Thursdays of each week. He was easily reelected as chief on August 2, 1876, serving for two successive terms from 1874 to 1878.

A rather embarrassing situation was provoked by the fact that Choctaw tribal law took no cognizance of the non-citizen white man and these laws had no application to him or to his activities. He fell directly under the "general laws of the United States as to punishment of crimes committed." It had long been

the custom to admit intermarried whites to membership in the tribe and such adopted persons became amenable to the tribal laws. As the natural resources were developed, citizenship in the tribe became an economic advantage, much sought after by designing whites. Chief Cole had suffered at the hands of the white intruders back in Mississippi and gravely feared the consequences to his people, if the influx of these non-citizens was not arrested. He was an arch heretic when it came to yielding the natural resources of the Nation to the whites. Heavy license taxes were imposed upon white traders and in 1875 a most drastic marriage law was passed which inhibited a white man from marrying a woman of the tribe except under a license to be secured by the payment of a fee of twenty-five dollars. This fee was later to be increased to one hundred dollars. Chief Cole was avowedly opposed to the conversion of any of the natural resources of the Nation into cash. He opposed the sale of timber, the opening of the coal mines and anything pertaining to lands and the products therefrom which was indigenous or natural. To do this, he contended would be the entering wedge for a disruption, or an abandonment of tribal integrity. From this policy, he never wavered and in his concluding message to the Council in October 1878, reiterated these views with words of solemn warning.

Out of this situation grew the oft told incident of the effort of Capt. J. J. McAlester, Dr. D. M. Hailey and Robert Reams, all intermarried whites, to inaugurate coal mining operations at or near the present city of McAlester, in 1875. A tribal statute was in force at that time which carried with it the death penalty for any tribal member who sold any "part of the land." McAlester and his associates evidently regarded the law as archaic and forgotten, so they proceeded to dispatch a wagon load of coal which they had mined near the town of McAlester, to Parsons, Kansas. These gentlemen although prompted by the highest motives, failed to take the Choctaw chieftain into their confidence. Chief Cole learned of the shipment and hastened to apprehend the miscreants, sending Olasechubbee, captain of his Light Horse in advance to make the arrests before he arrived himself to sit in judgment. The Captain located the miscreants at McAlester's general store in the town of McAlester and promptly placed them under arrest and accepted an invitation to dine with his prisoners.

When the officer stepped into the yard to provision his pony, the prisoners effected their escape, commandeered a railway hand-car near the depot and fled North across the Canadian River and into the Creek country as fast as elbow grease could manipulate the car. Although the potential despoilers of the Nation's resources had made their get away, the faithful chieftain had accomplished his purpose and the mines remained closed. It is said that the refugees remained in the Creek country until the tenure of Chief Cole expired in 1878.

The M. K. and T. railroad crossed the Choctaw country in 1872, but excessive freight and passenger rates aroused much bitter feeling among the Indians. Shippers and passengers were charged double fare to points in the Indian Territory. In 1876, Chief Cole, in a most erudite fashion, submitted in writing to the Secretary of the Interior, his ideas of a less discriminatory railroad policy. He urged that the railroad, telegraph and express companies should be made responsive to taxation by the Nation; that employes of such companies should be subject to regulations imposed upon other non-citizens; that railroad companies should respond in damages for property destroyed and that passenger and freight rates should be the same as in the "states." These suggestions were highly appropriate and reflect the discriminating qualities of this old Chieftain as to a sound railroad policy.

Chief Cole, although much limited in his scholastic training, was an ardent supporter of the schools in the Nation as he was also of Sunday observance. He protested to the Indian Agent the delinquencies of non-citizen whites and urged that they be requested to refrain from desecrating the Sabbath and so far as possible attend church and observe the "laws of God and man."

Upon the conclusion of his tenure as Chieftain in October 1878, he established his home on the Kiamichi River, some three miles southwest of the present town of Stanley, in Pushmataha County. His lands were in Section Three, Township Seventeen East and Range One South and here he spent the concluding years of his eventful life and here he passed away and lies buried. In the summer of 1880, he again, but unsuccessfully, aspired to the chieftainship and Jackson F. McCurtain was elected. This concluded his further efforts to continue his political career.

Coleman Cole was easily the most grotesque character of prominence among the Choctaws after the days of Pushmataha. He was a man of remarkable native ability and judgment which gives us pause in thought of the white captive among the long forgotten Shakchi-Hummas. He was a stiffly antiquated memorial of far-off days. The Chief was not an eccentric but of a type we shall see no more. He was not a "merry old soul" and the merriment he created by his dress and mannerisms was not intentional. In his public and private life, he was strictly honest and devoted to the interests of his people, as he appraised those interests. They believed in him as well they might. In his official career, the Chief evidenced no art of dodging disagreeable situations and so became involved, at times, in meaningless controversies with the Council. Perhaps he regarded the Choctaw Nation as more or less of a corporate myth, as he seemingly gathered the imperial reins of authority into his own hands. He evidenced marked qualities of good judgment although many of his efforts were undisciplined. The Indians of those years were unprepared for a pure democracy, but followed more eagerly inspiring leadership in whom they believed and whose word was the law. They recognized a harmony in natural law which reveals the intelligence of a superior who defies all the systematic thinking and acting of human beings. Law in a democracy is a movable adjustment and primitive or semi-primitive peoples do not reverence laws which they make themselves and which they may change. The leadership of Coleman Cole, with all of his idiosyncracies, met this equation. His regime is interesting in that it presents no perplexing paradox to preclude a rational analysis. He takes us deep into primitive human life and brings us back, enriched with a more complete understanding, compassion and faith. We tread with Hallam through the Middle Ages.

In consonance with his somber life was the death and burial of the old Chieftain. He quietly passed away at his farm home southwest of Stanley in the autumn of 1886 where he rests in an unmarked grave. And so they tucked him in with a tree or crude boulder for a headstone and departed leaving the spot unmarked and only the lonesome Kiamichis keep an eternal vigil.

OKLAHOMA

A Foreordained Commonwealth

By Dan W. Peery

In the early days of Oklahoma the writer remembers having heard an enthusiastic and verbose public orator say, "A whole lot of things have come to pass that would not have come to pass if certain things had not transpired." This was self-evident and would admit of no argument for most every event depends upon something that has gone before. Small and apparently inconsequential events often change the trend of individual lives. The plans, ambitions and future careers that are cherished by youth are often turned awry, and the mature man finds himself an altogether different person with different thoughts and different ideals. Sometimes human destiny is but the culmination of a long series of events and, so it would seem, the future of a whole people is determined by unforseen things which at the time seemed of but little consequence.

Oklahoma as we know it today is but the culmination of a long series of events—events that were not co-ordinated and did not seem to have any relation to each other. It is certain that neither the politicians, who had in mind only temporary expediency, nor the statesmen who had broader views of government, looking to the future, and whose ideals were based upon eternal principles, ever intended that the country now known as Oklahoma should be settled by the white race and admitted to the Union as one of the sovereign states. This thought was too far ahead for the men who were making the laws in the first half of the 19th century. Was not a great and rich state here in the land of the west ordained by an over-ruling Providence, running like a thread through all these events tending to one end—the adding of the 46th star to the American flag? Oklahoma was certainly not an accident. Then it must have been destiny—a decree of Providence that could not have been averted by treaties or by laws created by legislative bodies.

It would seem almost providential that Oklahoma and in fact the country west of the Mississippi is included in the United

States of America, rather than being a part of the Spanish domain or a colony of France or else a part of the British possession. When President Jefferson nominated Robert R. Livingston, "an able and honorable man," to quote the words of Jefferson, as minister plenipotentiary to France for the purpose of negotiating a treaty with France that would give the United States possession of the mouth of the Mississippi River and make the river free for the commerce of America, France had only recently acquired the country west of the Mississippi from Spain. In fact the transfer had not been entirely closed. It has been said that, at that time, one-third of our agricultural exports were shipped from the port at the mouth of the Mississippi, and in the past our government had been having some misunderstanding with Spain as to our exports from New Orleans. Secretary of State, Madison, in a letter to our Minister to Spain speaks of "the spoilations committed on our trade, for which Spain is held responsible, are known to be already of great amount," and to have an understanding with France as to our rights on the river and at the shipping port was one object to be included in a treaty with France. We have no records official or unofficial that President Jefferson gave Robert R. Livingston plenary authority to buy all the land west of the Mississippi included in the territory that now constitutes fourteen states in the Union. What the private understanding was as to the negotiations with the diplomats of France will always be in doubt. Jefferson was a strict constructionist and he had never found any authority granted in the constitution that would authorize the president to buy another country,—nor had he found anything in that instrument that would prevent the sovereign authority from buying a continent. Livingston found everything favorable and the proposition of buying the whole of Louisiana practically fell into his hands. While these negotiations were pending Jefferson appointed James Monroe, with full power to represent the United States, to assist Livingston in negotiating the deal for the "cession of New Orleans and Florida to the United States and the establishment of the Mississippi as the boundary between the United States and Louisiana." It was quite evident that the administration at Washington did not know the extent of the treaty and the vast domain that Livingston was negotiating for in the treaty. In fact the negotiations between Livingston representing the United States and Napoleon,

represented by his sagacious diplomat, Talleyrand, had been practically agreed upon before the arrival of Monroe. When Monroe arrived he fully approved of Livingston's agreement with the French government. It would seem by reading the story of the Louisiana purchase that even our representatives were not so anxious to secure the whole of that vast territory, but they were getting what they went after, and this great unknown part of the country was wished off on them. Could this, while anxious to acquire everything west of the Mississippi, yet seeming not to want it, have been Livingston's shrewd way of trading? That Livingston did fully realize the plenary importance of the treaty, I will quote from his own words: "We have lived long but this is the noblest work of our whole lives."

The western boundary of that vast country was not known, but in a general way it was to extend to the mountains. When that great treaty was signed April 30, 1803, the United States came into possession of all the country from the Mississippi west as far as Spain made claims before that Nation sold Louisiana to France. Somewhere along the south line of the domain conveyed was the future Oklahoma. The signing of this treaty was the initial movement that not only made Oklahoma a state in the Union, but also added Missouri, Iowa, Arkansas, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, and Louisiana, and while the western boundary line is indefinite, yet a part of Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, North Dakota and Minnesota was also included in the bounds of the Louisiana purchase. Although it would be useless to try to surmise, yet if the United States had not acquired this vast territory, it would now either be a French colony or else belong to Great Britain and be a part of the Dominion of Canada and Oklahoma—Oh, well, it would be profitless to surmise further!

This treaty had hardly been ratified until a movement was started to remove all the Indians east of the Mississippi to the newly acquired land in the west. Even Jefferson expressed himself often that if he could move the Indians west and found a new Indian territory west of the river, it would remove the immediate cause of Indian wars. Probably the reason that appealed mostly to those early settlers was, if the Indians were removed west, their reservations could be settled upon by white people and the danger of future Indian wars would be abated.

The government at once began negotiations with the chiefs of the many tribes of Indians that had their reservations around the great lakes and in Illinois, Wisconsin, and even in New York, to exchange their lands for land west of the Mississippi. Some of the smaller tribes agreed to go voluntarily and some bands and family groups of Indians migrated west without any definite agreement with the government. It took several years to negotiate these Indian treaties and to find suitable land on which to locate the various tribes. Most of the reservations for these Indians from the east side of the Mississippi, were selected in the territory that afterwards became Kansas and Nebraska. In the negotiations with the Sac and Fox Indians the government had trouble which resulted in what is known as the Black Hawk War. There were two factions in the "hyphenated tribe"—one recognized Keokuk as chief and the other faction took orders from Black Hawk. Keokuk and his followers accepted the government's edict and located on a large reservation in Iowa (soon to be taken from them, however). As to which faction was right we do not have space to discuss the question, but having recently read an autobiography of Chief Black Hawk, the writer finds himself a convert to the side of this intelligent Chief. I am sure that if he could have presented the case of the United States vs. Black Hawk to an unprejudiced jury, it would have decided in favor of the defendant.

The reason I have spoken of all these northern tribes is that their final location was in Oklahoma and their civilization and education became an Oklahoma problem. While I have spoken first of the smaller tribes and their removal, yet this was only secondary to the great migration of the Five Civilized tribes—all locating in the territory that is now the State of Oklahoma. I will not attempt to discuss the question, or the many questions involved in the movement of the Five tribes. There are many books in the libraries giving the history of this great epochal event and the *Chronicles* has published many articles, written by historians, to which every research student has access.

The title to land given to the Indian tribes located in Oklahoma was different to that given to the smaller tribes that had been located in Kansas and Nebraska by executive order. The Choctaws, Cherokees, and Creeks were each given a patent to

their reservations signed by the president and the secretary of state. The Creeks afterwards conveyed a part of their reservation to the Seminoles while the Choctaws deeded, with the consent of the United States, that part of their reservation known as the Chickasaw district to the Chickasaws. Each of the Five tribes set up their own tribal government, fashioned after the government of the United States, with legislative, judicial and executive departments.

When these Indians were moved, all of Kansas, as well as the Indian territory, was called Indian territory. The lines had not been established on the east or north as we know them today. Many white settlers had located in the Territory of Arkansas which had at that time no definite western boundary. Some of the early settlers had selected their homesteads across the line in to the territory that had been patented to the Cherokees. In fact Lovell County, Arkansas, lapped over in to what is now Oklahoma.[1]

Acting under the provisions of the Cherokee treaty of 1828, the Rev. Isaac McCoy, a missionary among the Cherokees, who was also a civil engineer, made a survey to establish the boundaries of the lands acquired by the Cherokees including the outlet west to the 100th meridian. The Kansas-Nebraska bill, which had much to do with the subject of "Free soil and slavery," became a law in 1854. This bill fixed the south line of Kansas on the 37th degree of north latitude. The Surveyor General of the United States designated Gen. Joseph E. Johnston as chief engineer to make a survey that would fix the south line of Kansas. This survey being made under government authority is the established south line of Kansas, but there is a discrepancy of about two and one-half miles between McCoy's survey and the one made by the government and the Cherokees claimed that Kansas was getting a part of their land. The government suvey was official.

After the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill which would make those two states free-soil, providing the people voted to be

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[1]A very comprehensive article written by Joseph Stanley Clark on the subject, "The Eastern Boundary of Oklahoma" was published in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. II, No. 4. The article shows thorough research on the part of the Author and the many references and citations to original sources makes certain its authenticity.

free—in other words slavery would not be permitted in any of the country north of parallel 37, there was a great migration into Kansas at that time. The sentiment was strong in the East, more especially in the New England states, to prevent human slavery in both Kansas and Nebraska. Those New England people were almost unanimously abolitionists and were willing to make any sacrifice to prevent the spread of slave holding territory. Many thousands of them came to Kansas and Nebraska from the New England states, more especially from Massachusetts, to take up land under the homestead laws with the object of acquiring a home and making those new states free. They had in mind making a great free commonwealth in Kansas and Nebraska, but when they came to enter these lands under the homestead preemption laws they found that they were surrounded by Indian reservations and that there was a comparatively small part of eastern Kansas or Nebraska subject to white settlement. There were Indian reservations on every hand and there was not much opportunity to build a state where white men could not acquire homes.[2] The thoughts of these settlers were: "What are we to do with the Indians residing here and most of the best land in Indian reservations?" The same problem had confronted their forefathers, and the Indians were moved west; the same problem

[2]The Oklahoma Historical Society has in its archives a rare old map: "*Eastman's Map* of *Nebraska* and *Kanzas Territory*, showing the location of the Indian Reserves, according to the Treaties of 1854, Compiled by S. Eastman, Captain U. S. Army, From Actual Surveys." The following statement written in longhand authenticates the map. "I have examined the map in regard to the Indian reservations and find same to be correct. Geo. W. Manypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, The Indian Office, Washington, Sept. 5, 1854." Most all of these reservations were occupied by Indians who had been moved from the East. The map also shows the hunting grounds of the Sioux, Nebraskas, and the Arapahoes and Cheyennes to the south and west, also the Kiowas and Comanches.

The Osages had a large reservation, according to this map, along the southern boundary line of Kansas. North of them there was a long tract of land marked "original reservation for New York Indians," then there were reservations for the Miamis, the Plankahas, Peorias, and Kansans. The Sac and Fox reservation consisted of 435,200 acres, the Kansas Indians 356,000 acres and the Shawnees 160,000 acres, the Delaware reservation of 275,000 acres on the north side of the Kaw River extended to where Kansas City is now located down to the Wyandottes. The Wyandotte and Pottawatomie reservation of 376,000 acres in the vicinity of Topeka and a long strip marked the Delaware Outlet, north of that the reservation for the Kickapoos of 768,000 acres extending east to the Missouri River and to Fort Leavenworth, another small reservation of the Sac and Fox of 138,000 acres, the Iowa reservation of 126,000 acres, a reservation for half-breeds along the Missouri River north in Nebraska and other smaller reservations.

had confronted the people of Ohio, Illinois, and Wisconsin and the Indians were again moved west and now they were located in Kansas and Nebraska and there was no place to move them. The eastern part of Kansas and Nebraska and the western part of these states was occupied as the hunting grounds of the wild Indians—the Arapahoes and Cheyennes, the Kiowas and Comanches, and other wild tribes, and they resented the white occupancy of their lands. The only outlet the Settlers could possibly see for these Indians was south of 37 in the Indian territory, but the Indian territory had all been deeded to the Five tribes and there was no place for them unless those tribes could be induced to sell a great part of their lands to the United States.

On the other hand, the Five Civilized tribes had all migrated from southern states. There were many white intermarried citizens, while quite a large percent of some of these tribes were of mixed blood. Coming from the south their sympathies were with the south. When the Civil War came on a large number of the best educated and most prosperous members of the Cherokees, Choctaws and Chickasaws were owners of Negro slaves and as the slavery issue was primarily responsible for the war, these tribes were largely in sympathy with the south in the secession movement in 1861. It is true that the Indians tried to be neutral in this war, but the slave holding Indians knew well that if the north won, slavery would be abolished in the Indian Territory as well as throughout the south. Yet, however, the larger part of Indians were not slave holders and really not in sympathy with human slavery and their sympathies were with the north when the issues were to be decided by the arbitrament of war. The southern branch was soon induced to declare their allegiance to the southern confederacy and when the confederate congress was organized they were represented by prominent Indians and slave holders. They organized several regiments for service in the Confederate army. The records show that there were some 2300 enlistments from the Indian Territory, including all branches of the service, in the Confederate army. But, as stated above, the feeling was not unanimous for the south. Perhaps the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations were the strongest southern tribes. The Cherokees, Creeks and Seminoles were about evenly divided. There were several regiments of Indian soldiers represented in

the union cause—recruits from the Creeks, Cherokees and Seminoles. The whole country was a boiling caldron of fratricidal strife, not the fault of the Indians themselves, but of their civilized white brethren.

The fact that so many of the Indians of the five tribes had cast their lot with the south was the opportunity that the settlers of Kansas wanted. From the beginning of the war the Kansas politicians wanted the government to declare all treaties made with the five tribes forfeited, and that the Indians living on reservations in Kansas be given like reservations on the surplus lands in the Indian territory. Resolutions were passed by the legislature of Kansas and petitions were sent to Washington but no official action was taken while the country was yet in war.

In the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1865, we find some very interesting history of the different councils held at the close of the war and the exactions made of the representatives of the five tribes. On page 295 we find a letter signed by J. J. Reynolds, Major General, to Hon. James Harlan, Secretary of the Interior, which is in part as follows:

"Little Rock, Arkansas,

"A great council of Indians was held at Camp Napoleon[3] on May 24, 1865, at which the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, Comanches, Seminoles, Northern Osages, Kiowas, Arapahoes, Lipans and Anadarkoes are said to have been represented. A solemn league of peace and friendship was entered into between them and resolutions were passed expressive of their purposes and wishes. They appointed Commissioners not to exceed 5 in each nation, to visit Washington for conference."

From subsequent developments, the government at Washington did not care to treat with so large a commission nor one representing so many tribes, and then, the government did not regard the council at Cottonwood Grove, known as Camp Napoleon (now in western part of Grady County, Oklahoma) as being in any way official and not authorized by government.

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[3]See page 359, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 9. Article by Dr. Anna Lewis, Professor of History, Oklahoma College for Women. Also a picture of the granite marker erected at Verden (formerly Cotton Wood Grove) on the Washita River west of Chickasha.

Later in the year a grand council was called by the President of the United States, through the department of the Interior, to which a summons was issued to each of the five tribes to send representatives. This call was mandatory as far as it related to all Indian tribes which had been identified by treaty or otherwise with the late southern confederacy. Word was also given to other tribes, many of whom had reservations in Kansas. This council was to be held at Ft. Smith, Arkansas. D. N. Cooley, president of the southern treaty commission, was the presiding officer. There were hundreds of Indians there representing many tribes when the council convened September 8, 1865. The United States was represented by D. N. Cooley, President; Wm. S. Harney, U. S. Army; Elijah Sells and Ely S. Parker, Commissioners, and Thos. Wistar. There were also a number of United States Indian agents present, several of them from Kansas.

Milton W. Reynolds, who was one of Oklahoma's early journalists, was present and reported the Ft. Smith council for the *New York Tribune.* In an introduction to Mrs. Marion Tuttle Rock's *Illustrated History of Oklahoma,* 1890, Mr. Reynolds, speaking of the Ft. Smith Council, says, "It was largely a Kansas idea, and prominent Kansas men were there to enforce it. General Blair and Hon. Ben. McDonald, brother of Senator McDonald, of Arkansas, Gen. Blunt, Eugene Ware, C. F. Drake, the Fort Scott banker, and other were present as persistent inside counsellors and lobbyists." While we are quoting from what Milton W. Reynolds said of the white representatives at this council, we will quote further his opinion of the delegates who represented the Five tribes. "The representatives of the Indian tribes were no less conspicuous and brilliant. Indeed, if the truth must be told, so far as power of expression, knowledge of Indian treaties, and real oratory were concerned, the Indians had decidedly the advantage. Their great leaders, John Ross and Col. Pitchlyn, were still living, and were active participants in the grand council. John Ross had been chief of the Cherokees for over forty years. He had governed wisely and well, and no one man ever had such a power over the Cherokees as had this noted chief. Col. E. C. Boudinot was then comparatively a young man, but he was then, as now, the most gifted and powerful in eloquence of all the Cherokees. He was just out of the Confederate Congress

at Richmond, as delegate from the Cherokees. He was fiery and excitable, but not pyrotechnic and lurid. His eloquence was heroic and impassioned, but not vapid or ebullient. He was a pronounced figure in the convention, and though difficult to restrain, he gradually became conservative, and his ancient loyalty to the Government was restored, and from that day to this no man among the Cherokees has been more loyal to the flag nor more desirous of carrying out the known policy of the Government towards the Cherokees and other Indian tribes. Mayes was then an unknown quantity. Ex-Chief Bushyhead has acquired his fame among his people since the date of that council.''

The council at Ft. Smith met September 8, and remained in session until September 21, 1865. The proceedings are given in full in the report of D. N. Cooley, president of the treaty commission and published in the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1865. After the preliminaries were disposed of the council took up the real business for which it was called. Cooley's report reads:

''On the second day, (Saturday, September 9,) after council met, I addressed the Indians, in which I stated that the commissioners had considered the talks of the Indians on the preceding day, and had authorized me to submit the following statement and propositions, as the basis on which the United States were prepared to negotiate with them:

'' 'Brothers: We are instructed by the President to negotiate a treaty or treaties with any or all of the nations, tribes, or bands of Indians in the Indian territory, Kansas, or of the plains west of the Indian territory and Kansas.

'' 'The following named nations and tribes have by their own acts, by making treaties with the enemies of the United States at the dates hereafter named, forfeited all right to annuities, lands, and protection by the United States.

'' 'The different nations and tribes having made treaties with the rebel government are as follows, viz: The Creek nation, July 10, 1861; Choctaws and Chickasaws, July 12, 1861; Seminoles, August 1, 1861; Shawnees, Delawares, Wichitas and affiliated tribes residing in leased territory, August 12, 1861; the Comanches

of the Prairie, August 12, 1861; the Great Osages, October 21, 1861; the Senecas, Senecas and Shawnees, (Neosho agency,) October 4, 1861; the Quapaws, October 4, 1861; the Cherokees, October 7, 1861.

" 'By these nations having entered into treaties with the so-called Confederate States, and the rebellion being now ended, they are left without any treaty whatever or treaty obligations for protection by the United States.

" 'Under the terms of the treaties with the United States, and the law of Congress of July 5, 1862, all these nations and tribes frofeited and lost all their rights to annuities and lands. The President, however, does not desire to take advantage of or enforce the penalties for the unwise actions of these nations.

" 'The President is anxious to renew the relations which existed at the breaking out of the rebellion.

" 'We, as representatives of the President, are empowered to enter into new treaties with the proper delegates of the tribes located within the so called Indian territory, and others above named, living west and north of the Indian territory.

" 'Such treaties must contain substantially the following stipulations:

" '1. Each tribe must enter into a treaty for permanent peace and amity with themselves, each nation and tribe, and with the United States.

" '2. Those settled in the Indian territory must bind themselves, when called upon by the government, to aid in compelling the Indians of the plains to maintain peaceful relations with each other, with the Indians in the territory, and with the United States.

" '3. The institution of slavery, which has existed among several of the tribes, must be forthwith abolished, and measures taken for the unconditional emancipation of all persons held in bondage, and for their incorporation into the tribes on an equal footing with the original members, or suitably provided for.

" '4. A stipulation in the treaties that slavery, or involuntary servitude, shall never exist in the tribe or nation, except in punishment of crime.

" '5. A portion of the lands hitherto owned and occupied by you must be set apart for the friendly tribes in Kansas and elsewhere, on such terms as may be agreed upon by the parties and approved by government, or such as may be fixed by the government.

" '6. It is the policy of the government, unless other arrangement be made, that all the nations and tribes in the Indian territory be formed into one consolidated government after the plan proposed by the Senate of the United States, in a bill for organinzing the Indian territory.

" '7. No white person, except officers, agents, and employes of the government, or of any internal improvement authorized by the government, will be permitted to reside in the territory, unless formally incorporated with some tribes, according to the usages of the band.

" 'Brothers: You have now heard and understand what are the views and wishes of the President; and the commissioners, as they told you yesterday, will expect definite answers from each of you upon the questions submitted.

" 'As we said yesterday, we say again, that, in any event, those who have always been loyal, although their nation may have gone over to the enemy, will be liberally provided for and dealt with.' "

These stipulations of the government were even more drastic than the Indians had supposed they would be. Especially were the so called loyal Indians disappointed in the demands of the government agents.[4] The arguments on these provisions occupied

[4]It would seem by the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1865, that some of the more prominent Cherokees who came before the council at Ft. Smith claiming to have been loyal to the Union in the late war had been closely identified with the Confederates at the beginning of hostilities. The Commissioner claims that John Ross, perhaps the most prominent chief and influential leader of the Nation, at first identified himself with the southern cause and through his influence and prestige hundreds of followers enlisted in the Confederate Army. They claim that after Ross's political enemies among the Cherokees joined the southern army, Ross, himself, went to Washington and there claimed to be in full sympathy with the Union side. It is no doubt true that he spent most of his time throughout the period of he Civil War in the National Capital or else with relatives of his wife in Pennsylvania. The Commissioners sent to treat with the Five Civilized tribes seemed to have known all about Ross's career during the period of the war, and refused to recognize him as spokesman for the Cherokees. It would seem from the following pro-

several days. The representatives of the five tribes knew that slavery was dead and that involuntary servitude was forever abolished, but they did not want their freed negroes made citizens of their tribes with all rights, and claims, to the common property as Indians by blood. Each tribe had its own chief and public officials and did not want to adopt Section 6 which provided that

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ceedings that the members of the Commission impeached him. So Oklahoma early formed the habit of impeaching chiefs and governors.

(It is only fair to state that the Cherokees did not recognize this impeachment of Ross by the United States officials, but he was chief until his death in August 1866.)

The following is an excerpt from the proceedings of the council on the sixth day—September 14, 1865.

"The council then adjourned for an afternoon session, and upon reassembling I read for the information of the various delegations in attendance a paper signed by the members of the commission declining to recognize John Ross as principal of the Cherokees. It is as follows:

" 'Whereas John Ross, an educated Cherokee, formerly chief of the nation, became the emissary of the States in rebellion, and, by means of his superior education and ability as such emissary, induced many of his people to abjure their allegiance to the United States and to join the States in rebellion, inducing those who were warmly attached to the government to aid the enemies thereof; and whereas he now sets up claim to the office of principal chief, and by his subtle influence is at work poisoning the minds of those who are truly loyal; and whereas he is endeavoring by his influence as pretended first chief to dissuade the loyal delegation of Cherokees, now at this council, from a free and open expression of their sentiments of loyalty to the United States; and whereas he has been for two days in the vicinity of our council-room (without coming into the same) at this place, disaffecting the Cherokees and persuading the Creeks not to enter into treaty stipulations which were arranged for the benefit of the loyal Creeks and of the United States; and whereas he is, by virtue of his position as pretended first chief of the Cherokees, exercising an influence in his nation, and at this council, adverse to the wishes and interest of all loyal and true Indians and of the United States; and whereas we believe him still at heart an enemy of the United States, and disposed to breed discord among his people, and that he does not represent the will and wishes of the loyal Cherokees, and is not the choice of any considerable portion of the Cherokee nation for the office which he claims, but which by their law we believe he does not in fact hold:

" 'Now, therefore, we, the undersigned commissioners, sent by the President of the United States to negotiate treaties with the Indians of the Indian Territory and southwest, having knowledge of the facts above recited, refuse as commissioners in any way or manner to recognize said Ross as chief of the Cherokee nation.

" 'Witness our hands, at Fort Smith, Arkansas, this 15th day of September 1865.

D. N. COOLEY, *President.*
WM. S. HARNEY,
Brigadier General U. S. *Army, Commissioner.*
ELIJAH SELLS, *Commissioner.*
ELY S. PARKER, *Commissioner.*
THOMAS WISTAR' "

Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1865, pp. 304-5.

all the nations and tribes in the Indian Territory be formed into one consolidated government after the plan proposed by the Senate of the United States in a bill for the organization of the Indian Territory. This was a proposition that the government pushed long after the signing of the treaties, but never had the approval of the individual Indian tribes.

The proposition to set apart a large portion of their lands for friendly tribes of Indians in Kansas, and elsewhere, required much explanation as to the amount of land and upon what terms and conditions and could not be settled in the turmoil and confusion of that Ft. Smith council in 1865. The Indian Commissioners fully appreciated the fact that the government intended taking over much of their land as a penalty for their participation in the war on the side of the confederacy.

Notwithstanding the many objections, the representatives of the five tribes were inclined to accept the proposition made by the government. In fact they were in no position to reject them. There was a general understanding as to what the stipulations of the government would be, but no attempt was made to reduce them to the formula of treaties at Ft. Smith in 1865. In fact there were points that each side wanted to adjust before the treaties should be signed.

The year 1866 was the real treaty making year. More treaties and agreements were made with the Indians that year than were made in any one year in our history. It was agreed before the adjournment of the Ft. Smith council that delegates should be sent to Washington for the purpose of concluding formal treaties with each tribe or nation for the settlement of differences and for re-establishing the Indians on their lands and to settle all disputes between the so called loyal Indians and those who participated in the confederacy. With the purpose in view of concluding these treaties, representatives of the five tribes arrived in Washington early in the year 1866. Each side was ably represented in drafting these treaties and the problems of each tribe were considered separately.

From the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1866, the Seminoles were the first to conclude their treaty. In the Seminole treaty, concluded March 21, 1866, "the Indians ceded

to the government the entire domain secured to them by the treaty of 1856, amounting to (estimated) 2,169,080 acres, for which they receive the sum of $235,362. They receive a new reservation of 200,000 acres at the junction of the Canadian River with its north fork, for which they pay $100,000, and the balance (of $225,362) is to be paid to them as follows: $30,000 to establish them upon their new reservation; $20,000 to purchase stock, seeds, and tools; $15,000 for a mill; $50,000 to be invested as a school fund; $20,000 as a national fund; $40,362 for subsistence, and $50,000 for losses of loyal Seminoles, to be ascertained by a board of commissioners. A right of way for railroads is granted through the new reservations, and $10,000, or so much as is necessary, is to be expended for agency buildings. The Indians agree to the establishment, if Congress shall so provide, of a general council in the 'Indian country,' to be annually convened, consisting of delegates from all the tribes in the proportion of their numbers respectively, and to have power to legislate upon matters relating to the intercourse and relations of the several tribes resident in that country, the laws passed to be consistent with treaty stipulations and the Constitution of the United States. This council is to be presided over by the Superintendent of Indian Affairs. (It will be seen hereafter that this plan is more fully carried into effect in the treaty with the Choctaws and Chickasaws.) The Seminoles ratify the diversion of annuities made during the war for the support of refugees, but the payments due under their former treaties are to be renewed and continued as heretofore. They grant six hundred and forty acres of land to each society which will erect mission or school buildings, to revert, however, to the tribe when no longer used for its proper purpose."

"The next treaty in this series was made with the confederated nations of *Choctaws* and *Chickasaws*: Concluded April 28, 1866; ratification advised, with an amendment, June 28, 1866; amendment accepted July 2, 1866, and proclaimed July 10, 1866.

"This treaty, in its careful attention to all details deemed necessary, is the most complete of the series, and when its various provisions are brought into full operation, will establish the confederated tribes upon a basis of enduring prosperity. It contains, of course, the usual provisions for the re-establishment of peace and friendship, of amnesty, and the abolition of slavery in

every form. The Indians cede to the government the whole of that tract of land known as the 'leased lands,' which have been long held (rented by the government) for the use of Indians removed from Texas, and amounting to 6,800,000 acres. For this the government is to pay $300,000 to be invested at five per cent. interest until laws are passed by the Choctaws and Chickasaws providing full rights, privileges, and immunities, and grants of forty acres of land each for their freedmen, which laws are to be passed within two years. If so passed, that sum, with its accumulated interest, is to be paid, three-quarters to the Choctaws and one-quarter to the Chickasaws. If such laws are not passed, then the $300,000 to be kept and used by government for the benefit of the freedmen. Right of way is granted for railroads through the reservations upon compensation for damages done to property, and the tribes may subscribe to the stock of such roads in land, such subscriptions to be first liens on the roads. The provisions in regard to a general council are agreed to with more detail than in the other treaties, and its powers clearly defined, so as to establish, for many purposes not inconsistent with the tribal laws, a territorial government, with the Superintendent of Indian Affairs as governor, the Territory being named '*Oklahoma.*' ''

The treaty with the Creek Indians was concluded June 14, 1866. The general provision of this was in the language of the Seminole treaty. The provision as to their lands is as follows: ''The Indians cede to the government, to be used for the settlement thereon of other Indians, the west half of their domain, estimated at 3,250,560 acres of land, for which the government is to pay $975,168, in the following manner: $200,000 to enable the Creeks to reoccupy and restore their farms and improvements, to pay the damages to mission schools, and to pay the salary of the delegates to Washington; $100,000 to be paid for losses of soldiers enlisted in the United States army, and to loyal refugees and freedmen; $400,000 to be paid per capita to the Creeks as it may accrue from the sale of lands; interest on the last two sums, at five per cent., to be used for the Creeks, at the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior; and the remaining sum due, or $275,000, is to be invested at five per cent., and the interest paid to the Indians annually. The amounts due to soldiers and refugees are to be ascertained under direction of the superintendent

and agent, and reported to the department for approval. Right of way for railroads is provided. The western boundary is to be surveyed at the expense of the United States. An amount not exceeding $10,000 is to be expended by the United States in the erection of agency buildings upon the diminshed reservation. The provisions for a general council are the same as in the Seminole treaty. Annuities, as provided in former treaties, are to be renewed and continued. The government to pay $10,000 for expenses of negotiating this treaty, if so much be necessary."

The final treaty with the Cherokees was not concluded, the records show, until July 19, 1866, and was not proclaimed until August 11, 1866. More difficulty was experienced in arriving at the consummation of a treaty with the Cherokees than with any other of the five tribes in the Indian country. They had not come to a full agreement at the Ft. Smith conference the year before and the two factions in the Cherokee Nation prevented any harmonious agreement at the conference table where treaties were consummated. Perhaps more trouble in effecting harmonious treaties was caused by the so called loyal Cherokees as they were wanting many considerations that had not been granted to the Stand Watie and Ridge factions. A number of eminent attorneys were employed by both sides and it was a battle royal for the rights of the two factions that had long existed in the Cherokee Nation. Most all of the provisions that were in the other treaties with the other tribes were included in the Cherokee treaty. The report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1866 states that provisions were made for the settlement of friendly Indians of other tribes among the Cherokees in two methods; first, by abandoning their own tribal organizations and becoming practically absorbed by the Cherokee Nation; or, second, that the tribes brought into the Cherokee Nation might retain their tribal existence by settling farther west. In either case land occupied by them to be paid for at prices to be agreed upon between the government and the Cherokees. This provision, of course, included the purchase of the Cherokee Outlet at such price as might be agreed upon by representatives of the government and of the Cherokee Nation, but the purchase was to be for locating other friendly tribes of Indians and freedmen thereon. Provisions were included as to the investment of the proceeds. Thirty-five percent.

for education, 15 percent. for an orphan fund, and 50 per cent. for the national fund.

Acting under the provisions of and in conformity with the demand of the government included in the Washington treaties of 1866 for the establishment of a territorial government, a general council of all the tribes was called to meet at Okmulgee in the Creek Nation in September 1870. Indian Superintendent Enoch Hoag presiding. Delegates were present representing most all of the Indian tribes. This was a most important conference as it was intended to unite all tribes under one government to be presided over by a white man, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. This conference was adjourned from time to time until December 1870 when the council adopted a constitution of and for the Indian Territory. This has always been referred to as the Okmulgee Constitution. It had, no doubt, been proposed, or at least agreed upon, by the department at Washington before the council met, but there was one clause in the so called constitution placed there by the council that caused its repudiation and defeat. This clause provided that the constitution should not be binding upon any nation or tribe unless ratified by the proper authorities of the tribe. When this constitution was submitted to the tribes the voters were against ratification. In fact the five tribes completely repudiated the work of the Okmulgee constitution and each tribe continued to live under its own form of government.

Again we might surmise as to what would have been the future of Oklahoma if the Okmulgee constitution had been ratified and the whole of the Indian Territory made one big territory for Indians. It is certain that there would not have been the great and prosperous state of Oklahoma as we know it today, yet, this was a white man's proposition. As to the ulterior motives behind this proposition it is now too late to consider.[5]

[5]If the Okmulgee constitutional convention of 1870 was not held under the auspices of the department at Washington it at least had the full approval of the president and the department of Indian affairs. The real object of the sponsors of this Okmulgee constitution was to do away with all tribal organizations. Some claimed that it would make all the territory public land under the supervision of the United States and would by this make valid and reinstate land grants to millions of acres of land made to the railroads of 1866. Many bills were introduced in Congress to ratify the Okmulgee constitution, and some named the territory to be created "OKLAHOMA." (This name, Oklahoma, having been suggested to the Commissioner at the Ft. Smith council by Rev. Allen Wright of the Choctaws.)

As soon as these treaties, known as the treaties of 1866, were consummated and duly ratified they were in full force and effect. The Department of the Interior began at once to remove Indians from the reservations in Kansas to reservations on the land acquired in these treaties with the Five Civilized tribes. So certain that these Indians were to be removed that reservations had practically been selected in the Indian territory before the treaty was ratified. As soon as they had selected their land in the Indian territory, by most of them acre for acre of the land that they were occupying in Kansas, their removal to the new home was commenced. When they abandoned their reservations in Kansas, those reservations became part of the public domain of that state. This land was occupied by white settlers under the homestead and pre-emption laws from 1866 until 1878. Nearly every tribe referred to as occupying land in Kansas had been removed to Indian territory, and still there was unoccupied land in the Indian Territory. The government then decided that it would make Oklahoma the rendezvous of other Indian tribes from other states.

After the Modoc War of 1872-73 the remnants of that small tribe was removed from Oregon to be absorbed by the Cherokees in the northeast corner of their reservation. When the Indian reservations were removed from Kansas and Nebraska, the members of congress from those two states were no longer interested in moving Indians into the Indian territory. In fact they would much prefer not having their neighboring territory filled with representatives of the wild tribes. A change of sentiment came

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The Okmulgee constitution had met the approval of the department at Washingon. Mr. Delano, then Secretary of the Interior, in giving the official sanction of the government to the establishment of an Indian territorial government, under the supervision of the United States government, said, that his convictions were that as this council had been held under authority of law, and it had resulted in a form of government adopted by the Indians themselves, that it had established a central government in the Indian Territory. The trouble was, in adopting the constitution, or an organic law for the Indian Territory consolidating the tribes all under one government, that when the work of the Okmulgee constitution had to be submitted to the legislative bodies of the five tribes for approval, the councils of the five tribes did not approve of the so called constitution and repudiated the whole proposition.

The reader may find the full proceedings of that Okmulgee council of the Indian Territory in Vol. 3, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 1925, beginning on page 33, April number and continued on page 120 of the June number, and concluded beginning on page 216, September 1925. This last number contains the "Constitution of the Indian Territory" as adopted by the council and rejected by the tribal Indian governments.

over the people and the general impression was that there were enough Indians in the Indian territory and, as for removing the Indians from the north, they would have the stubborn opposition of the Indians themselves.

These removals had been made, up to this time, without any special act of Congress, but the Indian department was using the funds appropriated for the expense of that department for the removal of these Indians and the department assumed the authority to bring these Indians into Oklahoma. After the Sioux War and the Little Big Horn fight in 1876 where Custer and his entire command lost their lives, the people in the north would have been glad to have seen all of the Sioux moved south into the Indian territory country. Shortly after that gold was discovered in the Black Hills, which was on the Indian reservations, that country was over-run with white settlers. Of course the Indians objected to this intrusion by the whites and having their rights completely ignored, but nothing could stay the encroachment of the whites into the gold fields on the reservation. A proposition was at once advanced to remove 20,000 Sioux, and affiliated tribes into the outlet—the government to purchase the land under the treaty with the Cherokees of 1866. This proposition had the approval of the gold seekers and the people living in the north part of the United States, but Kansas objected and Texas objected and the Indians of the Five tribes objected, as these lands were to be given only to friendly tribes of Indians, and they did not regard the Sioux as desirable neighbors. As before stated, the department had been removing the Indians without any special legislation and had been using the funds appropriated in the Indian appropriation bill to pay the expense of said removals. When the Indian appropriation bill came up for consideration in the House, February 15, 1877, Mr. Roger Q. Mills, of Texas, offered to amend the bill, adding to the first paragraph the following proviso:[6]

"*Provided,* That nothing in this act shall be construed to authorize the removal of the Sioux Indians to the Indian Territory; and the President of the United States is hereby directed to prohibit the removal of any portion of the Sioux Indians to the Indian Territory until the same shall be authorized by an act of Congress hereafter enacted."

[6]Congressional Record, Vol. 5. Part 2. 44th Cong. 2d Sess. p. 1616.

This amendment brought on a great deal of discussion. The people from the north and from the eastern states were in favor of the removal of the Sioux into the Cherokee Strip, or into any other unoccupied land in the Indian territory.

Speaking to his amendment, Mr. Roger Q. Mills said: "I hope, Mr. Speaker, I may have the attention of the House. I feel my duty to my constituents requires I should oppose the passage of this bill without the utmost guarantee possible to be written by human hands against the transfer of the Sioux Indians to the Indian Territory.

"Gentlemen say that is wholly unnecessary because the law which authorizes the transfer of these Indians to the Indian Territory has been stricken out of the bill and there is no law to authorize it. We are in the same condition we were twelve months ago, when the Commissioner of Indian Affairs brought before this House a bill to authorize the negotiation of a treaty with the Sioux Indians. The friends who take the view of this question I do, in conjunction with myself, opposed that bill until the Committee on Indian Affairs would agree to a provision absolutely prohibiting the transfer of those Indians to the Indian Territory.

"Why did we do it? Because it is known to all gentlemen here that it is a favorite project of the Administration to concentrate all the Indians throughout the whole United States which can possibly be concentrated there upon that Indian territory; and without positive interdiction of law they will continue to do it. They have done it. They do not wait for authority of law. I want to lay down the interdiction at their feet, saying 'You shall not do it;' and then the President of the United States cannot upon that undertake to go on and put these Indians down there. This would be much the better plan for the Indians themselves, and I am not their advocate; it would be much the better plan for the people living in the States adjacent to the Indian Territory, and much the better plan for the Indians living on that territory and trying to become civilized, who are reaching far up to the comforts of civilization which they desire to enjoy, as well as their white brethren who live around them. It would be unjust to them to place in their midst an element which it is impossible to civilize, and when, with all the appliances the gentle-

man has exercised toward them for many years, they are today as savage as they ever have been.''[7]

Here Mr. Roger Mills, the brilliant statesman from Texas, who still holds the floor, quoted at length from the testimony of an army officer, General Stanley, to the effect that Sioux Indians were not civilized and would not make good neighbors. Mr. Mills continues in behalf of his amendment:

''The only spot in the Indian Territory the Commissioner of Indian Affairs had is a piece of territory obtained from the Creek Indians, and which he obtained on the plighted faith of the Government it would not put upon that spot of land as neighbors any but civilized Indians. When the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, without authority of law, sent gentlemen to negotiate with these Sioux Indians he instructed them to press upon them that they had to go upon the Indian territory, and if they did not go there their rations would be cut off. When that treaty was signed by many of the Sioux chiefs, they came and touched the pen with the declaration that they signed the treaty with the understanding, 'We are not to leave the land of our fathers, and you must go and tell our Father at Washington so.' Notwithstanding that, they have compelled this people to enter into a treaty and send delegates to select the territory the Creek Indians said should not be yielded to any but civilized Indians. This will carry 35,000 irreconcilable savages into the midst of those people who have been struggling for civilization. It will turn them loose upon the State of Texas, which, as the commissioner himself says in his letter, will be an inviting feast to them. Turn them loose there! And he says he will send more troops, more cavalry, down there to guard them. But send 35,000 Sioux to go with the Comanche and Kiowa Indians, and then there will be no peace on the borders of Texas, no peace in Missouri, no peace in Arkansas, and no peace in Kansas; and the very sparks of civilization itself that have been struggling into existence in the Indian Territory

[7]It will be remembered that this speech was delivered nearly 60 years ago and since that time both death and education have wrought great changes in all the so called savage tribes. Thousands of the members of the wild tribes are now good farmers and progressive citizens. The Sioux Indians living in the northern states have become almost a self-supporting people and Indian wars are unknown to this generation of Indians.

will be put out in utter darkness forever. These, sir, are the reasons why I object."

Not only did Mills speak in behalf of his amendment, but he had the assistance of his colleagues from Texas, Reagan and Throckmorton. In the course of a short speech favoring the Mills amendment to the Indian appropriation bill, Mr. Throckmorton said:

"The gentleman from Nebraska thinks it perhaps best that these Indians should go to the Indian Territory. Those of us representing the States adjacent to that territory think differently. Already the Government has colonized over eighteen thousand wild Indians there. The Cheyennes and Arapahoes from the north, and the Apaches from New Mexico, besides our own southern Indians, the Comanches, Kiowas, and other tribes, are colonized there and immediately on the border of Texas. To place these northern Sioux there would be unjust to Texas and the neighboring States and an outrage upon the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws. What would the gentlemen from Nebraska think if we should attempt to send the wild Indians of the south into Nebraska? We, sir, would stand here and aid him to resist such policy. We ask you that these northern savages shall not be sent down on us. I hope the bill will be defeated if the amendment is not adopted."

The amendment of the gentleman from Texas was adopted and the fear that the government would locate the entire Sioux tribe, banished forever.

This was a crisis in the future life of the great state of Oklahoma. Its solution was the decree for the establishment of a future state in the American Union instead of a great Indian reservation in the heart of the United States. To Hon. Roger Q. Mills and the Texas delegation in the 44th Congress, 1877, we are largely indebted for saving Oklahoma and making it a state inhabited by both white and Indians. In appreciation of the service of Roger Mills we have named a county in western Oklahoma *Roger Mills County.*

Some three years previous to the proposition to locate the Sioux Indians in Oklahoma, the government under the administration of Gen. U. S. Grant, had turned the department of Indian

Office of Indian Affairs,

CENTRAL SUPERINTENDENCY.

Lawrence, Kansas, 10/31 1873.

Thos. H. Pickering,
U. S. Indian Agent
San Carlos Agency,
Indian Territory.

This letter will introduce to you
Maj. J. H. Stout Agent for the Pimas
Indians in Arizona. He has with him a delegation of
Indians, and visits the Indian Territory, with a view to
obtaining a location for the tribe, numbering, about Forty-
Five Hundred persons, he proposes to examine the country
west of the San Carlos River, between the Red Fork of the
Canadian, and the North Fork of the Canadian. Also a section
north of the Red Fork, and also perhaps west of the Potta-
watomies and Absentee Shawnees, between the North Fork and
the Canadian. You will render the Agent and his party
whatever assistance he may need to enable him to accom-
plish the purpose as indicated.

Very Respectfully
Cyrus Beede
Chief Clerk

Affairs over to the religious sect known as Quakers. These Quaker agents who were in charge of all Indian Agencies were instructed to assist in carrying out the President's policy of concentrating all Indians into the territory that now constitutes the State of Oklahoma. In the old records of the Sac and Fox agency, now in the custody of the Oklahoma Historical Society, we have the following letter:

"Office of Indian Affairs
Central Superintendency.
Lawrence, Kansas, 10/31 1873

John H. Pickering
U. S. Indian Agent
Sac and Fox Agency
Indian Territory

This letter will introduce to thy acquaintance Maj. J. H. Stout, Agent for the Pimas Indians in Arizona, he has with him a delegation of Indians, and visits the Indian Territory with a view to selecting a location for the tribes, numbering about Forty Five Hundred persons, he proposes to examine the counry west of the Sac and Fox Reserve, between the Red Fork of the Arkansas, and the North Fork of the Canadian, also a section North of the Red Fork, and also perhaps west of the Pottawatomies and Absentee Shawnees, between the North Fork and the Canadian. Thou wilt render the Agent and his party whatever assistance he may need to enable him to accomplish the purpose as indicative,

Very Respectfully
Cyrus Beede
Chief Clerk"

It would seem by reading this letter that the Grant Administration proposed putting all those Arizona Indians in the unoccupied land which was later opened to settlement April 22, 1889. If this plan had been consummated there would have been no eventful April 22, and no '89-ers association—nor would there have been an Oklahoma City, with more than 200,000 people, the capital of a great state, yet how narrowly this was averted. Could this have been the result of accident or chance?

It would seem that even after the defeat of the proposition to bring the Sioux from the North, by the Forty-fourth Congress

in 1877, the department still had in mind to bring the Arizona Indians to Oklahoma. And the same proposition had to be all fought over in the Forty-fifth Congress (1878). One of Oklahoma's champions was Thos. J. Crittenden of Missouri. He went further than the defenders of Oklahoma in the Forty-fourth Congress by saying: *"I am in favor of opening up the Territory so that all classes of men can go into it and civilize it and make it the resting place and home for white men as well as for Indians."*

In further remarks this great Missourian said:

"As one of the Representatives of Missouri, I enter a solemn protest against the admission of any more Indians to this Territory. I see there is a disposition in the minds of some of the Representatives on this floor to have the Indians removed from their States and Territories to other States and Territories. They are acting upon the principle of self-defense. Now, we from the States of Kansas, Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, and other adjoining States, say that we will act upon the same principle and protest against the removal of another Indian to the Indian Territory."

After a very extended and acrimonious discussion, taking up several pages in the Congressional Record, in which charges and countercharges were made by the members, the following amendment to a section of the Indian appropriation bill was offered, to-wit: "And the President of the United States is hereby directed to prohibit the removal of any portion of said tribes of Indians to the Indian Territory, unless the same shall be hereafter authorized by Act of Congress." (The Indians referred to in this amendment were "Apaches and other Indians in Arizona and New Mexico.") The question was taken and there were: Yeas 98; Nays 94, with 100 not voting, so the amendment carried by a small majority. After the passage of this amendment to the Indian Appropriation bill, December 19, 1878, there were no more Indians moved to the Indian Territory—excepting Geronimo's band of San Carlos Apaches that were brought to Ft. Sill from Florida as prisoners of war.

The passage of this amendment prohibiting the locating of other tribes of Indians upon the public lands in the Indian Territory opened a new vista to adventurers and prospective homeseekers. It left in the very heart of the Indian Territory a tract

of land of more than 2,500,000 acres which was a part of the cession of the Creek and Seminole in the treaty of 1866 which had been sold to the government for the purpose of locating "friendly tribes and freedmen." From the land originally ceded back to the government by these two tribes, or nations, reservations had been selected and occupied by the Pottawatomies, Shawnees, Sac and Fox, Iowas, and Kickapoos and still there was land left while there could be no more Indians brought into the Territory to occupy it. The anomalous condition of the title to this land was soon brought to the attention of Congress—and to the country. Many members agreed that it was public domain and was therefore subject to homestead entry, however, a commission was appointed to confer with the two tribes for the purpose of lifting the cloud from the title by annulling the clause that provided for the location of other Indians. Among the prominent men who claimed that this tract was a part of the public domain was that progressive Cherokee, Elias Boudinot. The entire Cherokee Outlet of over seven million acres was not occupied except that it was leased by that nation to the Cherokee Livestock Association, but, however, under the provisions of the treaty concluded in July 1866, the United States had the right to purchase this vast tract. This, too, was potential territory for white settlement.

All of these questions were under consideration at the last session of the Forty-fifth Congress. Among the employes were many soldiers, one of whom was David L. Payne who was doorkeeper of the House of Representatives. Payne was a Kansan, an ex-officer in the state militia of Kansas and a veteran in the regular army. Though but an employee he was consulted often by the Kansas delegation for no man knew the Indian territory country, or was better acquainted with the situation than he.

Upon the adjournment of Congress, Payne hastened back to his home state and began the campaign often referred to in the Chronicles as "the Boomer movement." "The whole world knows the result:" Pres. Benj. Harrison issued a proclamation March 23, 1889, declaring that the 2,500,000 acre tract of land in the heart of Indian Territory, known as Oklahoma, to be a part of the public domain and that it would be opened to homestead settlement April 22, 1889. (It seemed to be one of those decrees

in 1877, the department still had in mind to bring the Arizona Indians to Oklahoma. And the same proposition had to be all fought over in the Forty-fifth Congress (1878). One of Oklahoma's champions was Thos. J. Crittenden of Missouri. He went further than the defenders of Oklahoma in the Forty-fourth Congress by saying: "*I am in favor of opening up the Territory so that all classes of men can go into it and civilize it and make it the resting place and home for white men as well as for Indians.*"

In further remarks this great Missourian said:

"As one of the Representatives of Missouri, I enter a solemn protest against the admission of any more Indians to this Territory. I see there is a disposition in the minds of some of the Representatives on this floor to have the Indians removed from their States and Territories to other States and Territories. They are acting upon the principle of self-defense. Now, we from the States of Kansas, Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, and other adjoining States, say that we will act upon the same principle and protest against the removal of another Indian to the Indian Territory."

After a very extended and acrimonious discussion, taking up several pages in the Congressional Record, in which charges and countercharges were made by the members, the following amendment to a section of the Indian appropriation bill was offered, to-wit: "And the President of the United States is hereby directed to prohibit the removal of any portion of said tribes of Indians to the Indian Territory, unless the same shall be hereafter authorized by Act of Congress." (The Indians referred to in this amendment were "Apaches and other Indians in Arizona and New Mexico.") The question was taken and there were: Yeas 98; Nays 94, with 100 not voting, so the amendment carried by a small majority. After the passage of this amendment to the Indian Appropriation bill, December 19, 1878, there were no more Indians moved to the Indian Territory—excepting Geronimo's band of San Carlos Apaches that were brought to Ft. Sill from Florida as prisoners of war.

The passage of this amendment prohibiting the locating of other tribes of Indians upon the public lands in the Indian Territory opened a new vista to adventurers and prospective homeseekers. It left in the very heart of the Indian Territory a tract

of land of more than 2,500,000 acres which was a part of the cession of the Creek and Seminole in the treaty of 1866 which had been sold to the government for the purpose of locating "friendly tribes and freedmen." From the land originally ceded back to the government by these two tribes, or nations, reservations had been selected and occupied by the Pottawatomies, Shawnees, Sac and Fox, Iowas, and Kickapoos and still there was land left while there could be no more Indians brought into the Territory to occupy it. The anomalous condition of the title to this land was soon brought to the attention of Congress—and to the country. Many members agreed that it was public domain and was therefore subject to homestead entry, however, a commission was appointed to confer with the two tribes for the purpose of lifting the cloud from the title by annulling the clause that provided for the location of other Indians. Among the prominent men who claimed that this tract was a part of the public domain was that progressive Cherokee, Elias Boudinot. The entire Cherokee Outlet of over seven million acres was not occupied except that it was leased by that nation to the Cherokee Livestock Association, but, however, under the provisions of the treaty concluded in July 1866, the United States had the right to purchase this vast tract. This, too, was potential territory for white settlement.

All of these questions were under consideration at the last session of the Forty-fifth Congress. Among the employes were many soldiers, one of whom was David L. Payne who was doorkeeper of the House of Representatives. Payne was a Kansan, an ex-officer in the state militia of Kansas and a veteran in the regular army. Though but an employee he was consulted often by the Kansas delegation for no man knew the Indian territory country, or was better acquainted with the situation than he.

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of fate that Payne, like Moses, never lived to occupy "the promised land.") The opening of the more than 2,500,000 acres, constituting the original Oklahoma, was the entering wedge which tore asunder the old Indian Territory plan of government so that an American State, with all the rights, privileges and protection to its citizens enjoyed by other states, might be established here.

But why follow the miraculous story of Oklahoma's creation any further? Is it not all written in the books? Even the school children are familiar with its history since the days of its opening in 1889. They have read of the opening of one reservation after another (after allotment had been made to the Indians of 160 acres each); they have read of the passage of the Organic Act which established a Territorial government that existed from May 2, 1890, to November 16, 1907, when, on that date, Oklahoma and Indian Territory were united and admitted into the Union as one state. Oklahoma might truthfully be called the "Miracle State." Every Oklahoman should be proud of his state, and its history should be instilled into the mind of every school child. The Oklahoma historical society is the repository of much of the State's history and is open to research students.

JUDGE JOHN HAZELTON COTTERAL

JOHN HAZELTON COTTERAL

By

A. G. C. Bierer

The life of Judge John Hazelton Cotteral is a shining example of a man who, with only a highschool education, with an early interrupted college training that may be disregarded because of its early interruption, wrote his own name at the top of Oklahoma's great lawyers and attained the highest judicial position ever occupied by an Oklahoman, and then filled that position with the highest credit and the finest ability.

Judge Cotteral was born at Middletown, Indiana, September 26, 1864. He came from some of America's finest stock, his grandfather being Chauncey H. Burr, who was a charter member of the town company which organized the municipality where Judge Cotteral was born. At 11 years of age, he removed to New Castle, the county seat, upon the election of his father, William W. Cotteral, to the office of County Auditor, an office which he held for eight years. After graduation from high school, Judge Cotteral entered the regular college course of the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, but, owing to family reverses, caused, as often happens, by putting too much financial trust in a trusted friend, Cotteral was compelled to give up this college course before graduation. He removed with his parents and brothers and sister to Western Kansas in 1884, where his father took a homestead on government land in what is now Gray County in that State. Cotteral, with his brother-in-law, the late Hon. Milton Brown, went to Garden City, Kansas, soon after that, where Cotteral was admitted to the bar. They were engaged in the practice of law when the writer of this article met them and where immediately the law firm of Brown, Bierer & Cotteral was formed. This law firm so actively and successfully pursued the practice in all the counties of Southwestern Kansas until the blighting hot winds of 1887 and 1888—which would make those of that region in the 1930's look like pastime—made Bierer and Cotteral look for a more promising region in which to practice law, and so they came to Guthrie, Oklahoma, in the same berth; in the

same tourist sleeping car on April 22, 1889. Bierer and Cotteral, one of the early law firms of Guthrie, Oklahoma, practiced law together for a short time, until A. G. C. Bierer was appointed by President Cleveland as Justice of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma Territory in January, 1894.

Judge Cotteral, without the advantages of what we call a school education, was thoroughly equipped for the high judicial position to which he attained, for he knew from the beginning the foundation for the commonwealth of Oklahoma, which he so highly honored, and which commenced with original titles both in Kansas and in Oklahoma. Western Kansas was Government and Indian reservation land when he helped the pioneers to select their claims and perfect their titles to these lands and organize the local governments, municipalities, counties, schools and churches which housed their municipal rights as well as their religious beliefs.

Coming to Guthrie, Oklahoma, on the natal day of the opening of the first part of this commonwealth to white settlement made him again familiar at first-hand with its titles, its customs, and helped him to grow to the stature he attained, with its trials, its tribulations and its final magnificent development.

Notwithstanding Cotteral's misfortune which deprived him of the opporunity to obtain a legal education in college, he did attain such legal education in and by being one of the pioneers in the development and establishment of law and order and thus commonwealths in both Kansas, where he was one of its western pioneers, and in Oklahoma, where he was not only by date but by attainments one of its first citizens. His early practice of law in Western Kansas was concerning the land titles. There he was engaged in many noted cases and trials. This made his services in that line naturally sought in Oklahoma, and it was but a few hours from the first day of his landing at Guthrie that his fine services in that line were sought by those who became foremost litigants for the Oklahoma land titles, and this prepared him for the high position he was a little later to occupy on the Federal Bench, just as such an early day experience by Justice Stephen Johnson Field in 1850, at the opening of the gold fields of Cali-

fornia, qualified him for his becoming one of the greatest of American jurists and making the longest and one of the finest records on the Supreme Court of the United States. The fine record which Judge Cotteral made as a land lawyer both in Kansas and in Oklahoma, and his high standing as a lawyer in the courts of Kansas and Oklahoma, following, concurrent with, and connected with the acquisition of the original titles to these lands both in the Land Department and its branches and in the courts when they acquired jurisdiction of the subject matter, all with his usual success, naturally placed his name in first place for preferment and appointment by President Theodore Roosevelt to the United States District Judgeship for the Western District of Oklahoma at Statehood on November 16, 1907. In which position he so advanced himself in the esteem of his fellowmen and the bench and the bar that it followed naturally that he was on May 28, 1928, appointed and placed by President Coolidge in the office of Circuit Judge of the Eighth Federal Circuit, which gave him the position of Circuit Judge of the Tenth Judicial Circuit when that was later provided by Congress. This position rounded out Judge Cotteral's legal and judicial positions, commencing with his pioneering as a lawyer in Western Kansas and in Oklahoma, advancing as he did to the pioneer jurist in Oklahoma, in all of which he made a spotless record of the highest intelligence, the purest integrity, and grandest impartiality—three qualities that will ever make his name honored and revered by everyone who knew and associated with him, or who will read the record after him. The history of Oklahoma cannot be written without recording Judge John Hazelton Cotteral as its foremost jurist, and without saying of him and the service he rendered his beloved Nation, as well as his beloved State, as the Master said of his servant of old "Well done, thou good and faithful servant."

Judge Cotteral's place in the judicial sphere is not confined to his ability and attainment as a lawyer and a jurist, for with these, he possessed the highest appreciation of our American Constitution and the duty of every citizen, as well as every Executive and every Legislator and every Judge, to uphold and be bound by it as the supreme law of our land. He well believed that our courts were the constituted power to interpret its terms when-

ever and wherever questioned; he believed that when the Courts had spoken it was the duty of constituted officers—executive, legislative and judicial—to observe their orders and decrees; he believed that resort to military force was the last and never the first remedy, and had no place in our Government, Nation or State unless the courts were defied by others than those whose duty it was to enforce the law. When the angel of death kissed his eyelids with eternal slumber on April 22, 1933, exactly forty-four years to the day after that natal day, when he first crossed the border of Oklahoma, it took from his and our adopted and beloved state the highest interpreter of that law and Constitution ever ordained as an Oklahoma official and citizen and one of its finest men.

Judge Cotteral was a profound example of the old and true virtue of personal honesty, personal industry, and personal intelligence, which achieved fame, fortune and honor in his day and generation for the self-educated and self-made man, of which he was one of the finest and most shining examples.

Judge Cotteral was not only an eminent jurist. He was a man of noble and manly qualities and attainments. He was a lover of the good, the beautiful, and the true. He loved and cherished his friends, he despised only pretense, evasion and untruth. He was a lover of justice and truly felt and acted on and off the bench that "For justice all place a temple and all season summer."

A HISTORICAL AND ARCHAIC STUDY OF THE TUSKEGEE IN FLORIDA

By
Edward Davis and H. R. Antle

The Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek and Seminole Indians are called the Five Civilized Tribes. Yet among them are backward groups little removed from their original primitive condition. We believe that the reason for the backward groups can be better appreciated in the light of the conflicts through which some of the tribes have passed and the study of the one primitive group recorded here.

Of the five tribes mentioned above the Cherokees were of Iroquoyan origin. The Seminoles, Creeks, Choctaws were of Muskogean lineage.[1] Of the Muskogean tribes the Choctaws and Chickasaws were closely related while the Seminoles were an offshoot of the Creeks.[2] None of the Muskogean tribes were a unit in either blood or language. It was a custom for these tribes to receive into their numbers large bodies of Indians from the surrounding tribes. As the Colonies advanced along the Atlantic seaboard and along the Gulf of Mexico, many of the smaller tribes were crushed or broken. It is doubtful if any of them chose tribal suicide as in the fabled case of the Pascagoula who singing their death chant were reputed to have marched into the Pascagoula River rather than submit to capture by their enemies. These broken tribes found refuge among the larger Muskogean tribes. This offered a refuge for many groups of Indians that would have been unable to have stood the competition of the times as economic and military units. On the other hand, when these broken groups founded their villages among the larger tribes and became loosely affiliated units of them, it gave added strength to the larger tribe. The Creeks who lived in Georgia and Alabama received more of these broken or strayed groups than, perhaps, any other of the tribes. Many of these were of Muskogean stock and readily exchanged their dialects for that of the Creeks. Others as the Tuskegee, Euchee, and Tukabatchi

[1]Powell, J, W., "Indian Linguistic Families of America," *Seventh Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology*, pp. 77-81 and 94-95.

[2]Hodge, F. W., *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 961-962.

were entirely of alien incorporation. So numerous were these Creek incorporations that they must have composed almost half of the Creek Nation.[3]

The powerful Apalachee who were allies of the Spanish in Florida invited attack by the English Colonists. The English and Creeks allied against them about 1700, when the Apalachee were defeated by their allies. Some of them were sold into slavery, others were settled as neighbors of the Creeks and merged with them, others of the tribe fled into Louisiana and remained there. The crushing of the Apalachee left Northern Florida unoccupied by Indians.[4]

The evacuation of Northern Florida by the Apalachees permitted a new disposition of the Creeks. A large number of Lower Creeks moved down into Florida. Also many of the Upper Creeks fled into Florida. The Creeks were joined by many Euchees, Hichitas and perhaps fragments of the other broken tribes. Finally many Negroes with a status varying from abject slavery to freedom found their way into this region of Northern Florida. Because of the fact that these Indians had fled or migrated from the Creek Nation, the Creeks called them Seminoles which in the Creek language meant "runaway."[5]

It was inevitable that this conglomerate of Indians and slaves should stir up trouble. They were in Spanish territory but had many British traders among them. The negro slaves who fled to them caused the citizens of Georgia to protest to the United States government and demand the return of their property. The British traders in their endeavors to control the trade of the Indian tribes within the United States provoked trouble. In this way, the Seminoles were a menace to the peace of the Southeastern United States.[6]

In July, 1816, Col. D. L. Clinch with a force of American soldiers and 200 Creek allies attacked a fort on the Apalachicola

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[3]Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians.* 1. 362-365, 961-962, and 11, 853 and 1003-1007.

[4]*Ibid* I, 67-68.

[5]Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians,* 500-502, and Foreman, Grant, *Indian Removal,* 315.

[6]Foreman, *Indian Removals,* 315, Channing, Edward, *History of the United States,* 333-335.

River which was occupied by Negroes and Seminole Indians. The powder magazine in the fort exploded and killed most of the occupants. The Seminoles in turn attacked the settlements along the Georgia border. The United States sent General Andrew Jackson to the scene. Jackson followed a characteristic Jacksonian method. He pursued the Indians into Florida and took the Spanish Forts of Pensacola and St. Marks in April 1818. He captured two British traders Ambrister and Arbuthnot, court-martialed and executed them. Thus the Indian border question threatened to provoke trouble for the United States with both England and Spain. President Monroe upheld Jackson, and Spain agreed to the treaty of 1819 which ceded Florida to the United States. Thus the Seminole ("runaway") Indians with their complex problem of refugee slaves were brought under the jurisdiction of the United States.[7]

The United States government on September 18, 1823 made a treaty with these Florida or Seminole Indians. The United States was to take them under their protection and care. The Indians in turn were to cease making war. The United States was to supply them with livestock to the amount of $6000.00 and pay them $5,000.00 a year for twenty years with additional grants of $1,000.00 annually for twenty years for schools and a like grant of $1,000.00 yearly for a blacksmith. The Indians were to refuse admission to runaway slaves and pledged themselves to return such slaves as came. The Seminoles were to be moved farther south into a region which they very reluctantly agreed to accept.[8]

This Florida treaty was unfortunate in many respects. The lands to which the Indians were to be removed were of inferior quality to those they gave up. As a result the Indians refused to go upon them. It was impossible to keep other slaves and freedmen from fleeing into the Seminole country; and the Indians resented the demands of the whites for the return of the refugees. The Indian removal policy of the United States began to operate in case of the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws and Chickasaws before the twenty year period of the Florida treaty was up. As a

[7]Foreman, *Indian Removals*, 315-317, and Channing, *History of the United States*, 333-343.

[8]Kappler, Charles J., *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, 71, 203-206.

result of these complications constant friction existed between the Seminoles and their white neighbors. Peace seemed impossible and the Indians became more and more destitute and bewildered. At last the United States determined to include the Seminoles in its policy of Indian removal.[9]

James Gadsden as agent for the United States signed a treaty with the Seminole Chiefs May 9, 1832. By this treaty, the Seminoles agreed to move to the West and join themselves with the Creeks within three years. The Seminoles were to receive $15,400.00 for their improvements which they were abandoning. They were to receive remuneration for the appraised value of their cattle and $7,000.00 was provided to settle with them for the runaway slaves in their borders. The $1,000.00 annuity for a blacksmith was extended for ten years and they were to receive a $3,000.00 annuity grant for 15 years.[10]

The next year a delegation of seven Seminoles, at Fort Gibson, signed a treaty designed to carry out the terms of the 1832 treaty. The Seminoles were to accept a reservation between the Canadian River and the North Fork. The Seminoles were to be removed to this location in the Creek Nation.[11]

One band of Florida Indians, the Apalachicolas, immediately migrated from Florida to the Trinity River in Texas. At New Orleans a trader, Beattie, had the Indians arrested on a fraudulent charge. They paid him $2,000.00 and two negroes to secure their release. This band had 276 Indians but after desertions and deaths only 152 arrived at their destination.[12]

Several causes contributed to the growing friction between the Seminoles and the United States over removal. The Fort Gibson treaty had stipulated that John Phagan, the Seminole Agent, should remove the Seminoles. Phagan was discharged from the Indian service for embezzling funds of his Indian wards. The United States had paid for the Creeks in 1821 $250,000.00 to citizens of Georgia for slaves fleeing into Creek and Seminole territory. The Creeks wished to be reimbursed with Seminole slaves. The Negroes had no wish to exchange the free easy life

[9]Foreman, *Indian Removals*, 316-320.
[10]Kappler, II, 344-345.
[11]Kappler, II, 394-395.
[12]Foreman, *Indian Removals*, 322-323.

in the Seminole Nation for slavery in the Creek Nation. They especially had no wish to be returned to the whites to labor on cotton or sugar plantations. They exercised an influence on the Seminole Indians that would not permit their surrender to the Creeks or whites. This effectually prevented the peaceable removal of the Seminoles from Florida.[13]

Bitter war insued in 1836. United States soldiers assisted by volunteers from the States, and Creeks, Shawnee and Delaware Indians attacked the Seminoles. The Cherokees were moved to intervene and in 1837 a Cherokee delegation visited Florida and endeavored to reconcile the differences. General Jesup was removed from command of the United States forces in Florida and on July 6, 1838 reported that 1955 Seminole Indians had been secured. The war was continued until 1842 when after the expenditure of the lives of 1500 white soldiers and $20,000,000.00 the uncaptured Indians were allowed to retire peaceably to the swamps of Southern Florida. Those who had been captured were removed to Oklahoma and by March 1842, a total of 2,833 Seminoles had been removed. A few other bands were persuaded to come from time to time until 1856.[14]

The Seminole Indians were by no means satisfied with the treaty of Fort Gibson in 1833. They found the land upon which they wished to settle partly occupied by the Creeks. They feared that the Creeks might still seize their Negroes. Many of them remained out of the Creek Nation and committed depredations on their neighbors. A new treaty was made with the Creeks and Seminoles in 1845. All Seminoles should remove to the Creek Nation. The Seminoles who would were to settle in a body on Little River. They might settle elsewhere and maintain their own town organization. The Seminoles were to be represented in the Creek Council but their monetary affairs were to be separate. The Seminoles who removed to the Little River country were to be subsisted on the way and for six months after the migration was completed. The ones who remained away from the Creek Nation forfeited all annuities.[15]

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[13]Kappler, II, 198 and 395; and Foreman, *Indian Removals*, 322 and 331.
[14]Foreman, *Indian Removal*, 324-386.
[15]Kappler, II, 550-552.

The treaty of 1845 did not reconcile the differences between the Seminoles and the Creeks. By a treaty concluded at Washington, August 7, 1856, the Seminoles were entirely separated from the Creeks. They were given a strip of territory west of approximately the middle of present Pottawatomie County, north of the Canadian River and South of the North Canadian and the South boundary of the Cherokee Outlet. This narrow strip of territory extended west to the 100th meridian west longitude. In addition to their extensive land grant the United States provided more liberally for the Seminoles than formerly. They were given $90,000.00 to compensate for improvements to be abandoned in the removal. The sum of $250,000.00 was to be invested for them and the interest at 5% paid them annually. A like sum was invested for the Seminoles in Florida. The sum of $3,000.00 annually for ten years was provided for schools, and like annual payments of $2,000.00 annually for agricultural assistance and $2,200.00 for a blacksmith. The United States provided $250,000.00 as a permanent fund for the Indians in Florida but if they removed to Indian Territory the permanent funds would be consolidated. The United States promised liberal grants of funds for Creek and Seminole delegations to Florida to secure the migration of the Florida Seminoles. The government would finance such parties of Seminoles as would agree to move.[16]

The greater liberality of the United States government, in 1856, in providing for schools, agricultural assistance and a blacksmith had little time for continuous operation in improving the lot of the Seminoles in their new home. The war between the States came in 1861 and again for the third time in 60 years the Seminoles became embroiled in a bitter war. The tribe was divided in half. John Jumper, the Seminole Chief, adhered to the Confederacy, while about half of the tribe joined the loyal Indians under the Creek leader Opothleyohola. The loyal Indians were refugees from home for four years and suffered privations that are almost unbelievable. The return of the Union troops to Oklahoma in 1863 and the incursion of wild Indians forced the Seminoles who adhered to the Confederacy to flee to the vicinity of Fort Washita where they remained for over two years. The fact that the Seminole population was established at 2500 in 1860 and

[16]Kappler, II, 756-763.

at 2000 at the close of the war shows the appalling loss of life in the period of the war. Words cannot fully picture the suffering from cold in winter, the terrific amount of sickness arising from lack of shelter or clothing, or the meagerness of their food supply of those terrible years. It seemed as if fate dogged the steps of the hapless Seminoles.[17]

After the war ceased in 1865 the United States informed the Seminoles that the treaty they had made with the Confederate government had unsettled their treaty relations. In the new adjustment of tribes by the treaties of 1866 that government followed its usual policy and moved the Seminole Indians. They sold to the United States their entire reservation as defined in 1856 for 15 cents an acre and paid the United States $100,000.00 for 200,000 acres and later one dollar an acre for an additional hundred thousand acres in present Seminole County, Oklahoma. This being the reservation on which they have since continued to live.[18]

The Curtis Act of June 28, 1898 and the Seminole agreements of July 1, 1898, and June 2, 1900 provided for the allotment of lands in the Seminole nation. The Seminoles to the number of 3,127 of which 850 were freedmen received allotments to the amount of 120 average acres of land. They automatically became citizens of the United States by virtue of taking allotments. An act of Congress of April 26, 1906 provided for the closing of tribal affairs.[19]

The close of allotment and statehood has not ended the Indian problem. It was supposed that land ownership and citizenship would automatically cause the Indian to become self-sufficient and capable of administering his lands and property. Now it is being more and more realized that we have administered Indian properties without attention to the capabilities of the full-blood Indian himself. Throughout the entire period of Seminole conflicts and removals no adequate social study of the Seminoles has been made. No study made now can be regarded as truly typical because of the admixture of groups and the infusion of outside

[17]Abel, Anna Helouise, *American Indians*, 197-200, and II, 79-89; and Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Report*, 1865, pp. 36-39.

[18]Kappler, II, 910-915; and Gittings, *Formation of Oklahoma*, 80.

[19]Statement of Edgar B. Merritt, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs on House Bill 12,000, 70 Congress, 1 session.

customs. It does show the tenacity of these group ideals in the face of adversity and mistreatment. Such studies will show how much of the Indian culture is worthy of preservation and give a better approach for those interested in Indian education.

Southwest of the town of Seminole, Seminole County, Oklahoma, is a group of Indians, though known as Seminoles and so enrolled, whose dialect, customs, tribal name and origin are only remotely associated with the Seminoles. At the present time they are weakly banded together by the tribal name, Tuskegee.[1] A few of the older people still commune in the almost extinct tongue, the younger generation, though recognizing their tribal affiliation and clan distinction, speak the Seminole language. Many have married into the Seminole clans, thereby causing their stock to become absorbed so that another generation will see their previous lineage no longer distinct.

Following their migration to Florida and during their residence there, up to a short while before the Civil War, the Tuskegee modified their native Alabama culture through the adoption of some Florida Seminole and Spanish traits.

A cross-section of their culture while residing in Florida will be given in the following brief study.

MATERIAL CULTURE

Habitations

While in Florida, some of the Tuskegee preferred a somewhat nomadic life. In small groups, composed in the main of a man and his family, these people moved about through the swamplands by means of dugouts. By day they hunted and fished. Their habitations were hastily made shelters on some convenient shore, constructed for a night's use only. At times, desiring a change of diet, they stopped at the villages of settled kinsmen.

The habitation of the village-dwellers was an affair that strongly suggested the Seminole type.[2] A circle of poles, each

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[1]Powell, J. W., 1891, *Indian Linguistic Families of America, North of Mexico.* (Seventh Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, 1891). This classification of the Muskogean linguistic divisions is given:

A. Muskogean Proper:
  a. Southern Division:—4. Alabama Group: Tuskegee
  b. Northern Division:—1. Muskogee proper: Seminole

[2]MacCauley, Clay. 1887. *Seminole Indians of Florida* (Fifth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, 1887).

pole retaining a crotch, was set up on the circumference of the future structure and slender saplings laid from crotch to crotch. An inner circle of taller poles, likewise equipped with forks, were placed midway to the center. Rafters or beams connected each center pole. More slender saplings were tied by the butts to the lower circle of horizontal ones and the tops bent across the higher circle. Cross-pieces were then worked in and the roofing thatched with the abundant palmetto leaves. An opening was left in the center of the roof for a smoke exit. No walls were constructed, an uncommon feature.

Inside the structure, platforms were elevated and used for sleeping quarters. They were generally high enough to require a small ladder's use. Around this platform, netting was placed to keep out the multitudinous insects. As a rule, bedmates were mainly man and wife, the children occupying other platforms unless too young.

In the center of the floor, a floor little altered by the building of the habitation, was placed the fire which rarely was allowed to go out. It was due to no religious practice that the fire was so kept; the reason was, flies and heat spoiled the supplies of meat. To avoid this, the meat was suspended from the rafters in a place where the smoke would constantly be about it.[3]

A number of the above types of dwellings, inhabited mostly by members of a certain clan, constituted a village. These dwellings, as mentioned before, were open to the periodic visits of the wanderers.

Food: Supply and Preparation

The nomadic portion of the Tuskegee lived upon aquatic foods such as the alligator,[4] turtles, fishes, clams and water birds. Fruit was secured, as were a few roots, from the interior. Corn and melons were obtained from the villages. Feathers and skins were exchanged for such.

Around the villages, maize, cane, pumpkins, melons, tobacco, peanuts, peppers and sweet potatoes were raised. These people had no hoes but the soil being so rich, little effort was needed to grow the vegetable foods. A site was chosen for the plants,

[3]This method of meat preservation not known to be of Indian origin.
[4]The use of this reptile as food is rare in North America.

holes punched in the earth at this site, seeds dropped into the holes and covered, and the semi-tropical climate took care of the rest. Coonti and other edible roots were gathered wild.

The principal use of corn was to dry it while still in the milk, parch it in ashes, then grind it to powder in a wooden mortar.[5] While a type of corn cake was made from this powder, it was the basis of their favorite drink, abuske.[6] Corn was boiled with meat, the product forming a daily type of food. Corn cakes were frequently eaten saturated in cane juice.

Tobacco was chewed,[7] rolled into cigars,[8] and smoked in clay pipes.

Of animal foods, the deer, bear, turkey, fish and alligators were the main types used. The settled Tuskegee was not known to have used shell-animals for food.

In killing the bear, great respect was paid to his prowess. A thicket was cleared in his haunts, a circle of hunters detailed to drive the bear into the clearing and once there, the hunters stood about the place and fired at him with their flint-lock rifles.[9]

Though possessing iron pots secured from the white traders, corn and meats were boiled by the primitive process of dropping heated rocks into the kettles. Other meats were roasted on a spit.

In cooking such vegetables as potatoes, certain roots, etc., these were placed in hot ashes. Corn cakes were likewise cooked; some were baked, swimming in bear fat.

Oranges, bananas and berries are reported to have been gathered in the nearby groves. It is possible the first two mentioned were present, even before white contact.

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[5]The wooden mortar is still widely used among the Muskogean people. It is called by the Choctaw, kite, the pestle being known as ketoke. Tuskegee and Seminole alike call it by a similar name, keco and kecvy'pe. Its origin was probably with the Choctaw.

[6]A Choctaw word borrowed with the trait. In preparing this drink, the "golden meal" is mixed with water and honey to form a thick, strong-tasting liquid. The abuske is served even today with every meal and at all socials.

[7]Chewing tobacco was formerly continued in N. A. to the Pacific Coast.

[8]Smoking cigars was undoubtedly acquired from southern contacts. In pre-Columbian times, it occurred mainly in the West Indies.

[9]Good flint was lacking here and weapons consisted only of guns obtained from Spanish traders.

In the preparation of cane juice, mentioned previously, sections of cane were placed into the wooden mortars and beaten into a pulp. The sweet juice was then drained off and used without additional refining.

Dress and Personal Decoration

Hair

The men wore a "scalp-lock," fashioned by shavnig the head leaving only a narrow strip of hair from front to back. This hair was long enough to permit braiding. Feathers adorned a few heads; most of the men paid little attention to such ornate displays except at the periodic festivals and dances.

No age or marital distinction was shown in the women's hair dress. The universal custom of wearing bangs was expressed here. The rest of the hair was parted in the middle and braided. These braids were then coiled low on the back of the head. This method of "doing up" the hair is still found among a few of the present-day Tuskegee.

Dress-Types

Most material for clothing was obtained through exchange with traders, most often through the medium of neighboring tribesmen than by direct contact. Children went naked, putting on clothing only in late childhood. The men and women wore an article of clothing described as a "long shirt." It was made of rich colors, arranged in a pattern of circles in a horizontal position. In length, it just reached the knees. A modified form of this dress may be observed among present-day Indians.

Moccasins and leggins and sometimes pants, were added to the men's apparel.

ARTIFACTS

Baskets

A few bsakets were woven from split cane stalks, corn husks and grass. The art was degenerate from that of their ancestors who excelled in basket-making.

Pottery

No clay being available and iron vessels easily obtainable, this art was entirely forgotten. One centenarian said her great-grandmother knew how to make clay vessels when the latter resided in Alabama.

Skins

Some skins were tanned and used for various purposes. The tanning process was not learned but was possibly similar to most Southeastern methods; after all preliminary cleansing, the pulp of beaten green corn was applied and allowed to remain for awhile. It was then washed and pounded in a mortar, removed and worked over a beam until dry.

Cane Objects

In earlier days, cane tubes were used for blow-guns. Small tubes are still used for curative purposes, a subject for later discussion. Some knives were made of dried cane stalks. Other uses have been mentioned before.

SOCIAL CULTURE

Clans[10]

The clan system was composed of a chief and four grades of subjects. At this period, certain clans were grouped together and marriage was exogamous in the group. Horror of incest was as great with them as with citizens of Oklahoma. In fact, this state has quite rigid laws regarding such.[11]

Clan relationships of the Tuskegee are confusing to the average student. For clarity, the relationships of a fictitious male who has married a female of another clan will be given in the following:

His blood sisters and brothers, his mother and father, are recognized as we would recognize them.

All female members of his own clan, outside his own family, are called a. "little mother," if older; b. "sister," if near his age; c. "niece," if younger.

All male members of his own clan would be called a. "uncle," if older; b. "brother," if near his age; c. "nephew," if younger.

In the father's clan, all males are termed, "little father." All females, regardless of age, are his "grandmother." Any man marrying a grandmother would be his grandfather.

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[10]Clans and associated subjects are interesting to study; two good references may be had in: Primitive Society, Ch. 4 and 6 by R. H. Lowie; *American Indian*, Ch. 10, pages 162-169, by Clark Wissler.

[11]See Okla. St. Law, 1931, Secs. 1667 and 2238, for definition and penalty for commission.

The sons and daughters of his father's brothers would be his brothers and sisters because the children's male parent came from the same clan as the father of the person under discussion.

The children of his mother's brothers would be called his own children, in as much as their father was of the same clan as he.

Blood grandparents are not related to him except in the case of his mother's mother who would be in the same clan and therefore known as his little mother.

Relationship to the wife's people was scanty; her children were his children. This marked the limits of his affiliation.

Religion

It is doubtful if the information received on this subject is correct because the informant for this article declared the Tuskegee knew no religion until after their contact with converted Seminoles in Oklahoma. It is strange missionaries failed to reach them as they did so many other tribes in the early days of American History.

Burials

Having no belief of a life after death, bodies of the dead were hauled off from the villages and covered with brush or stones. Later the custom improved and the bodies were placed in a hollow log. Food was left with the dead but beyond this, the grave was never revisited. It is said that a great fear of some kind took hold of the people, changing their regard of the dead.

At the present time, after burial, the departed's clothing and a bit of food are placed on the grave. A house is built above this but never repaired when it goes apart.

Magic

Then, as now, the Tuskegee was careful to never retire with his feet to the west. Dire results would follow such action.

Several superstitions are believed in by these people but they are typical of most Indians and will not be discussed here.

Belief in a shaman was a predominant feature. His activities were applied principally to healing the sick. Not one but several shamans might be associated with a single village. He concocted

drinks from wild herbs, chanted magic words and blew through cane tubes upon the affected part or parts.[12]

Dances

Of the festivals and dances, only the Green Corn ceremony[13] was remembered, due perhaps to its frequent repetition here in Oklahoma. As this is fully described in literature, only this mention will be made of it.

Mythology

Myths consisted of stories similar to other Southeastern types; most of these dealt with animals who were able to converse with man and among themselves. A typical one is as follows:

Hunters would leave the village to secure meat but when they reached the haunts of their prey, not a bit of life could be seen. One day it was learned an old alligator that lived near the village would inform the other animals that the hunters were starting out. The alligator was captured and condemned to death. He begged to be let live and was granted the request on the condition he would never tell on the hunters again.

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[12]The medicine-man is still much in demand among the Seminoles. He is always called in to heal a case. Failing to do so, a white doctor is consulted.

[13]*Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. X; pp. 170-195. "Green Corn Dance," reprinted after John H. Payne, by J. R. Swanton.

NOTES FROM THE INDIAN ADVOCATE.

GRANT FOREMAN

A repository of much authentic and colorful history and description of the Indian Territory was the *Indian Advocate* published in Louisville, Kentucky, under the patronage of the American Indian Mission Association. This Baptist organ received many interesting accounts from missionaries carrying on the work of the Church among the Creek, Cherokee, and Choctaw Indians that appeared in practically every number. In the July, 1847 issue of the *Advocate* was an interesting account by Rev. P. P. Brown, a visiting missionary, of the Choctaws and their schools. Brown is writing at Armstrong Academy July 23, 1847, after witnessing for three weeks the public examinations of the pupils in various Indian schools:

The ringing of the big bell announced the hour for commencing. Many a heart beat with school-boy excitement. Most had been present at our first trial day, and now began to feel what they ne'er had felt before, a great anxiety with regard to their success. Hope and fear chased each other in rapid succession over their countenances, as class after class was called out. Trustees, chief, and captains—great ones of the nation, besides many others, were attentive listeners, as example after example was unfolded upon the wonderful, mysterious black-board, the school-master's right hand man; attention grew more eager, as each pupil traversed the different countries on our globe—delineated small meandering streams till they were swollen into mighty rivers, flowing on to the never-satisfied ocean—scaled the dizzy heights of snow-capt mountains—measured each zone from pole to pole, and, rising with the world, traced its path, annually described around the sun.

The exercises being closed, sundry speeches in English and Choctaw followed commending the progress made, and encouraging to more persevering efforts.

Then came dinner, all wanted—of beef, pork, cakes, pies, and coffee. Examination is a great gala-day, when mind and body both expect to be feasted.

Dinner over—horse bridled and saddled—the parting hand given—we are on our way to Captain Jones' plantation, eighteen miles distant. Our company consists of the three trustees, R. M. Jones, G. W. Harkins, and F. Leflore, and the Hon. Chief, S. Fisher. Most of our way lies through the prairie, where the sun has a fair shake at us, which by this time has become quite hot; the slight breeze, however, which is almost constantly playing over the prairie, adds much to our comfort, and with the aid of our umbrellas, we pass on very comfortably. We passed but two houses, as the settlements are principally in the timber, or near the rivers.

About sunset we reached our stopping place. Mr. Jones has named his residence Lake West, from a small lake in the vicinity. His plantation lies mostly in Red River bottom. It contains five-hundred acres of the richest kind of land, producing abundant crops of cotton and corn. The dwelling house stands back from the plantation, on a gentle rise of ground, sufficiently elevated to protect it from the highest floods, which inundate the whole bottom. It is a two-story frame building, painted white, of plain, simple, but substantial architecture, with a single piazza, extending the whole length. Several large shade trees give it a rural appearance: and with the large yard surrounding it—the adjacent garden of excellent vegetables—the flourishing peach orchard—the well of cool water—the necessary out-buildings, in good repair—the well-furnished table—food served up in good farmer style, — I almost imagined myself upon the premises of a Kentucky planter. A great amount of money has been expended to render the place pleasant and comfortable, yet the sickening miasma from the neighboring swamps and ponds makes it unfit for a continued residence. It is used at present only as a winter retreat. Another plantation, about thirty miles East, is occupied in summer.

On Wednesday morning, after a sumptuous breakfast, we started for Mr. Jones' new home, on our way to the first female examination, directing our course towards the mouth of Boggy River—a dark, muddy stream. Our way lay principally through fine timbered land, free from thick undergrowth, and covered with grass sufficient to furnish an excellent summer range in the absence of prairie. We crossed several small prairies, covered

with a luxuriant growth of wild grass and bushes, indicating a productive soil. Several Choctaw farms came in our way; some indicating a good degree of thriftiness, having good log houses, comfortable stables, with plenty of livestock—cows, hogs, turkeys, hens, and geese.

Their farms are generally small, usually not exceeding twenty acres, in which corn and sweet potatoes are principally cultivated. Their crops are generally backward, owing to the lateness of the season when they are put in. Crossing Boggy at its junction with Red River, we passed into a higher region of country, more broken and less fertile, but producing good crops of corn.

A little before sunset, we were kindly welcomed by Mr. Jones' lady to the hospitalities of her home. She is of a Chickasaw family, a very pleasant and agreeable companion, whose easy, graceful, lady like manners command the respect and win the admiration of all. She has one child, a daughter, who will be sent to the States to be educated, as soon as she reaches the requisite age. The plantation at this place contains about three-hundred acres of excellent land. There is an abundance of large timber on the place, and the location has thus far proved healthy. One of the best crops of cotton in the country, indicates the quality of the soil, and the diligence with which it has been cultivated. — Among other good things furnished us we were furnished with a rich treat of watermelons, the first I had tasted this season.

On Thursday, two o'clock, P. M. our company, enlarged by Mrs. Jones, who rides with her daughter in her coach, move on to the school under the superintendency of Rev. E. Hotchkin, one of the missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners. It is called The Koonsher Female Seminary.

The examination was held on Friday, the 9th. In a late number of the *Advocate*, this is called a "school for boys." It is exclusively for girls. Forty-four are boarded upon an appropriation of $3,000 from the Nation and $600 from the Board.

Their clothing is furnished by their parents, as are also the pupils in all the female schools, and one small male school. The school is arranged into two departments, under two teachers. In point of discipline and instruction, it is regarded the first Female school in the nation. It has been in operation three years.

On Thursday evening we were presented with a pleasing specimen of skillful management, and superior learning of the young ladies. Supper was over, we were all assembled in the hall and spacious piazza for an hour of worship. The exercises commenced by each young lady rising successively to her feet, and repeating the same verse of Scripture. A few questions upon the meaning of several were contained in the verse and answers in such exact concert as to sound like one loud voice. Then followed questions and answers in rhyme from a small Sunday School Paper answered in the same manner producing favorable impressions preparatory to the exercises tomorrow.

After worship Mr. Israel Fulsom, an educated half breed, gave a spirited address in Choctaw and English seeming to dwell mostly on the benefits to be derived from Bible instruction.

About seven o'clock on Friday morning, the examination commenced, in a meeting house, a neat frame building erected with funds principally obtained in the neighborhood. Quite a number of Choctaws and whites were present. The exercises were conducted in a manner well calculated to please a popular audience, which must judge from what it sees rather than from what it hears; questions being rapidly proposed and as promptly answered—now individually, now collectively—so exact that the slightest variation could hardly be detected—often repeating whole pages with the sound of a single voice, loud and distinctly enunciated. I remarked one peculiarity in the tone of voice in recitation, which seemed to predominate over all the rest. Every pupil's voice seemed pitched upon the same key. Every sound seemed to be uttered with the same sound and same force. From what cause it could originate, I know not: that so many different voices, in natural strength and tone, in a school of that size, could be tuned to the same pitch, in answering every question, must have required a great amount of patient training.

In addition to the common branches, the history of the United States, and a small elementary work on natural philosophy, have been pursued. Several neatly executed maps of the U. States were shown, as the work of the young ladies. The dresses worn by the pupils were presented as specimens of their needle-work, which spoke much for their taste and skill.

After a most sumptuous dinner, in company with Mr. Berthlet, an enterprising merchant of Doaksville, I started for that place, crossing the Kiamishi, which rises near the eastern boundary of the Nation, and bending round to the southwest flows in a southeasternly direction into Red River.

Doaksville is a small place, containing about fifty or sixty people, consisting mostly of traders and mechanics. It has six stores, two saddler shops, one tailor, one blacksmith, one cabinet, and one shoemaker shop; also a drug store and a public house.

The stores are principally owned by white men, who expect to remain no longer than to amass a fortune. Some few Choctaws are in partnership with them. — The public house is owned by Col. David Fulsom, one of the principal men in the Nation. He keeps an excellent house on strictly temperance principles. He also owns the blacksmith shop. Two or three physicians reside here. Their practice is confined to whites and half-breeds, as the full-bloods do not readily adopt the white man's method of curing the sick, adhering to their old method of incantations. They are, however, gradually abandoning them, and applying to the Missionaries and physicians for medicine.

The location of Doaksville, is very unpleasant, especially during the wet season. It stands mostly upon two hills, jetting out into a narrow valley, through which flows a small stream. The soil is a red sticky clay, which renders the streets at times almost impassable. On account of the uncertain stay of a majority of the inhabitants, no public interest is felt in making improvements. A small log meeting house, stands on a hill near the place occupied mostly by Rev. Cyrus Kingsbury.

On Saturday, I attended the examination of the female school, under the superintendence of Mr. Kingsbury, at Pine Ridge Station, about a mile from Doaksville. It is called the Chuala Female Seminary. Twenty four pupils are boarded upon an appropriation of $1,600 from the Nation and $1,000 from the American Board. Others are boarded by the parents, and with those brought in from the neighborhood and the number attending during this session amounts to forty, which imposes a very severe task upon the teacher.

In addition to the branches pursued at Mr. Hotchkin's, Watts on Mind, and the shorter catechism have been studied.

At the close of the exercises, we were shown some specimens of work executed by the young ladies, in fancy book marks,—calico shirts—pantaloons—palm leaf hats, and a bed quilt. The work was very neatly finished, in a style that would do honor to any young boarding school Miss in the States. The different articles were sold at auction; the proceeds of which were to be applied in erecting a Meeting house on Blue River, where a new station is about being opened.

After dinner, I left Doaksville on my way to Norwalk station, where Mr. Charles Copeland, resides. Mr. C. acts as steward to the male school, under the superintendence of Rev. A. Wright, called The Newark School for Boys. It is five miles from Wheelock, where Mr. Wright resides, and twelve miles east of Fort Towson. It receives an appropriation of $800 from the Nation, and $160 I think, from the Board, upon which are boarded sixteen boys; their clothing being supplied by their parents. Some few pay for their board, and some attend from the neighborhood, making the average number twenty-two. — They are mostly small, and understand the English language. I spent the Sabbath here. Mr. Copeland, who is a licensed preacher, attended a meeting some five miles south, on Red River The religious exercises at the station, consisted in Sabbath School duties, at which Banvard's series was studied. At the close, books were distributed to be read during the day.

After worship, at night, each boy was called upon to give an account of what he had read. Most of them were able to tell something. Some related nearly all they had read, frequently reciting verbatim. It was a very profitable and interesting exercise, and well calculated to fix the mind upon the subject while reading. It seemed to be entered into by the boys with a great deal of pleasure.

At an early hour on Monday morning, the examination commenced. The studies pursued were spelling, reading, writing,—Mental arithmetic, geography, a small elementary work on Natural Philosophy and music. Some attention is paid to the latter in all the schools; but more in this than any other. The pupils are taught the principles, and learn to sing by the rules. — The teacher is exceedingly fond of the study, and takes great delight

in teaching it. Several pieces, both sacred and secular, were sung by the boys, to the great amusement of the spectators.

At the close, an address was given by Mr. Leflore, the chief of the district. At the commencement of the schools, he strongly opposed them, but is now decidedly in their favor. Early next morning, in company with friends, I went on to Mr. Wright, to attend the examination of the female school under his superintendence, called The Wheelock Female Seminary. — The amount of appropriation to this school, I did not learn. Forty-five pupils divided in primary and higher departments, were examined by two teachers. The exercises were held in Mr. Wright's excellent stone church, the best edifice of the kind in the Nation; erected at a cost of $2,000. A respectable number of persons were present to witness the recitations which were agreeably interspersed with occasional pieces from the school choir. On the table before the pulpit, were specimens of needlework, and several very neat exhibitions of perspective drawing, taught by Miss Dickenson, a natural artist, and an accomplished teacher. The articles of needle work, were exposed to sale at the close of the exercises, the proceeds of which, were to be applied to finishing the church.

The Boarders of the school are divided into two families, a part boarding with Mr. Wright, and a part with Mr. H. Copeland, who acts as steward. After the examination, I wound my way back to Doaksville, and in company with the principal teacher, went on ten miles to Spencer Academy, the anniversary of which, was held on Tuesday, the 20th. inst.

On Friday, the 16th, the female school, under the superintence of Rev. C. Byington, was examined. It is located twenty-eight miles east of Wheelock, and about one hundred from Armstrong. It is called the Iyanubi Female Academy. Being anxious to visit Spencer, previous to their examination, I did not attend it, but understood from the Trustees, that every thing was quite satisfactory—the needle-work superior. At all the female schools, the pupils are required to take their turns in the kitchen, and do their washing.

Spencer Academy. — I spent a week here very profitably to myself, and I trust to my school, in learning their method of management in teaching and discipline. As you approach the

Institution, from the south, you enter a long lane, separating a large cornfield on the left, from a small uncultivated field on the right. The miserably poor soil, and the lateness of the season, when the corn was planted, give it rather a sorry appearance, and should the drought come on at its usual time, there will be a poor yield.

The first building met with, is a good sized stable and shed, about two hundred yards from the dwelling houses. Entering the large yard on the north side of the farm, before you stand two large two story frame buildings painted white.

Pitchlynn Hall on the right, is occupied on the lower floor by Rev. Mr. Ramsay, the superintendent, and one of the teachers; the upper story by a part of the boys.

Jones Hall on the left, is occupied by the principal teacher, with another portion of the pupils. Passing into the square formed by the buildings, on the extreme left, you see the school house; it is built of logs, one story high, divided into one large school room and two small recitation rooms. On the north side of the square, fronting to the south, stands Armstrong Hall, of the same size and form as the others; occupied on the lower floor by the primary teacher, and the Institution carpenter, on the second floor by the remainder of the boys, principally the smaller ones.

On the right or east side of the square, is a two story building, occupied by the steward and family, and some female helpers. In the rear of this dining room attached to which is the kitchen, bakery and "Tom Fuller" room. To the east of Pitchlynn Hall, and a little back, stand the store room, smoke house, and a lodging room for hired help.

The three Halls have large piazzas extending the whole length, which render them very pleasant and agreeable. The school was given into the hands of the Presbyterian Board of Missions more than a year ago, who contribute to its funds annually $2,000. Previous to that time it was solely under the direction of the Nation, and although its income was $8,333⅓ per annum, during the short period of three years, it became involved about $3,000. I believe it is a matter of much profit to the Nation, and satisfaction to those connected with the other schools, that the attempt was made for them to manage the institution, as the people are

satisfied they cannot do it, and they have been made acquainted with the difficulties missionaries have to contend with. The present income is $10,833\frac{1}{3}$, and it is expected to maintain one hundred boys. Eighty only have been at school the last session, and I believe the intention is, not to increase the number till the institution is entirely relieved from its embarrassment. It is the most advanced school in the Nation, as many of the pupils had been under tuition for a long time previous to its commencement. But few of those, however, now in school, are considered scholars, the majority are principally beginners, of one, two, and three years attending.

I was in the school three days, listening to the recitations and witnessing the other exercises. I was much pleased with the contented spirit which seemed to pervade the room, and the lively interest in the different studies manifested by all.

It is really a gratifying thought, to enter a school room in the Nation, and see the youthful eye so eagerly bent upon the book, to witness the earnestness of attention in investigation, when, but a short time before they were wandering as fancy led, and seeking objects which their own crude notions presented.

The examination was held under a bower in the yard. It was well attended, by those who seemed to take a deep interest in the exercises.

A difficulty that had occurred in school a few days previous, and which was brought before the trustees, cast a shade of gloominess over some, and had its effect upon the general exercises. Otherwise, a pleasing aspect seemed to be spread over the whole, The school was examined in the common branches, in Algebra, Geometry, Astronomy, Surveying and Latin. Several pieces were spoken by the boys, and several compositions were read. The exercises were closed with prayer by Rev. Mr. Page, a full-blood Choctaw, of the Methodist connection.

The Methodists have two schools; Fort Coffee Academy, and New Hope Female Seminary: both in Musholitubi District, on the Arkansas river. They are both prospering. The schools will resume operations the 7th of October.

Thus has ended my tour to the schools, full of interest to me, and which, I trust will result in profit to my school.

In the September, 1849 issue of the *Advocate,* was an interesting sketch of the Comanche people as related to Rev. H. F. Buckner, and by him contributed to the *Tennessee Baptist,* from which it was copied in the *Advocate*; the Gold Rush through the Indian Territory was on, and enterprising Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes went among the wild Indians to barter for mules which they sold to the California emigrants departing from Fort Smith through the Territory. Mr. Buckner's account follows:

As little is known concerning the wild Indians who live west of the Creeks and Cherokees, I have thought that whatever information might be given concerning them, be it ever so scant, woud not be altogther uninteresting.

A party of sixteen, consisting mostly of Creeks and Cherokees, have just returned from a trading excursion, and from Unus McIntosh their leader, I have obtained the following: — "We proceeded," says he, "in a direction South of West from the Creek Agency. Each of us had a rifle and such other weapons as we could carry conveniently about our persons. Our mules were laden with tobacco, vermilion, &c., &c., which we expected to barter with the Comanches for mules, intending to supply the emigrants to California with those animals. The country over which we traveled was mostly prairie, with here and there a skirt of scrubby oaks. We had for our interpreter a Kickapoo, who had spent some time with the Comanches, and who could speak a little broken English. After traveling about 200 miles in the same direction without seeing or hearing any thing worth relating, we came in sight of the tents where the Comanches were whiling away the months of spring.

I confess that our hearts began to fail us when we came in sight of tents extending farther than our eyes could see on an open prairie and filled with wild savage Indians, who in all probability, would regard us as enemies. Our guide had us all to alight, examine our rifles and to see that they were well primed. He then addressed us as follows:

"Me friends; may be so well we all find an grave to day, all go one way; Comanche may be so fight, and may be so friendly; we must no run nor be fraid. Sometime I fight Camanch wid only tree or four; but we sixteen, and hab plenty guns! We heap!

We no run!'' His little son then came running up to him, and asked him to load his pistol, (he was only eight years old.) The old man looked at his boy with an expression of satisfaction, loaded his pistol, and turning to us said: ''My boy may be so better man than me; he no scare; may be so me little scare in here, (placing his hand on his breast and smiling.) We must no let Camanch see us fraid.''

There was one white man in company, and on this occasion he looked rather paler than his race. Our guide, on perceiving this, painted 'brother Johnathan's face all over with vermilion, lest his countenance should betray the state of his mind.' We then remounted and proceeded in the direction of the tents. Presently six old men, mounted on mules came meeting us. We were going to shake hands with them according to the custom of civilized life, when one of them made a sign for us to stop, which we did. He then inquired of us the object of our visit, and to what nation we belonged. Being answered that some of us were Creeks, some Cherokees and one Kickapoo, and that we had come to buy mules, he requested us to separate in parties according to our different tribes, which we did, (brother Johnathan identifying himself with the Cherokees.)

He then proceeded to shake our hands according to the custom of their nation, which indeed, were very singular. Causing us to stand with our right side fronting him, and to hold our right arm in the same position that a tailor would if he was going to measure the length of our coat-sleeve; he caught us with both his hands just above the waist, and then waiving our arm up and down as we would a pump handle, he looked us steadily in the eyes. He first shook the hands of the Creeks, then of the Cherokees, and lastly of the Kickapoo. After shaking the hand of each individual he placed his own over the reign of his stomach (as a token of love) bowed himself to the earth, and after pronouncing the name of the tribe to which the individual belonged, added 'chartar,'' which in their language, signifies good. Having concluded this ceremony, they invited us to accompany them to their tents, and after our arrival showed us where to erect ours. One of them led forward a mule laden with raw buffalo meat and invited us to eat, telling us at the same time that the meat on the right side of the mule was for the Creeks, while that on the left

side was for the Cherokees and Kickapoo. We invited their chiefs to eat with us, setting before them cooked meat, bread, sugar, coffee. They ate very heartily, dipping their hands into the bowl and eating the sugar alone, then drinking the coffee.

I will only have time and room to add the following items in unconnected sentences. Their young men appear to be vain and fond of dress; which consists of a tight skirt made of checked linen, a beaded gown made of dressed buckskin, beaded mockasins and wrappers. They have a small mirror suspended constantly to their wrist, which they consult on all occasions when they wish to appear in company. The men wear very long hair, but the women keep theirs closely trimmed. The former appear to be spirited and independent; the latter, as among all savages, mean, and careless about their dress. There were about 5000 encamped at that place, and being asked the number of their tribe, said: "as the hand is to the length of the whole arm, so are we to the whole number of our tribe." When talking they keep their hands and arms in constant motion. They express all their verbs, and prepositions in this manner, and have words only to express the manner and quality of things. They have many Mexican and Spanish prisoners, who they use as servants, and whom they sell on the same terms that they do their mules. They claim all the land from the salt plains to the rocky mountains inclusive. They move twice in the year, and are governed in this by the movements of the buffalo. They eat nothing but raw meat steeped in pepper-water. Some of them have light hair and blue eyes, but it is thought that this class is of Spanish extraction. They say that they are the most powerful nation on earth and to prevent their people from thinking differently the chiefs had those of their tribe put to death whom Gen. Butler had taken to Washington city. I was not able to learn anything of their religion or laws. They will meet in council next spring at the salt plains to which they have invited their neighboring tribes. They have never heard the gospel.

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A Choctaw tradition related by Peter P. Pitchlyn of that tribe, appeared in the October, 1849 issue of the *Advocate*:

"According to the tradition of the Choctaws, the first of their race came from the bosom of a magnificent sea. Even when they

first made their appearance upon the earth, they were so numerous as to cover the sloping and sandy shore of the ocean, far as the eye could reach, and for a long time did they follow the margin of the sea before they could find a place suited to their wants. The name of their principal chief has long since been forgotten, but it is well remembered that he was a prophet of great age and wisdom. For many moons did they travel without fatigue, and all the time were their bodies strengthened by pleasant breezes, and their hearts, on the other hand, gladdened by the luxuriance of perpetual summer.

"In process of time, however, the multidude was visited by sickness, and one after another were left upon the shore the dead bodies of old women and little children. The heart of the Prophet became troubled, and, planting a long staff that he carried in his hand, and which was endowed with the miraculous power of an oracle, he told his people that from the spot thus designated they must turn their faces towards the unknown wilderness. But before entering upon this portion of their journey, he designated a certain day for starting, and told them that they were at liberty, in the meantime, to enjoy themselves by feasting and dancing, and performing their national rites.

"It was now early morning, and the hour appointed for starting. Heavy clouds and flying mists rested upon the sea, but the beautiful waves melted upon the shore as joyfully as ever before. The staff which the Prophet had planted was found leaning towards the North — in that direction did the multitude take up their line of march. Their journey lay across streams, over hills and mountains, through tangled forests and over immense prairies. They were now in an entirely strange country, and as they trusted in their magic staff, they planted it every night with the utmost care, and arose in the morning with great eagerness to ascertain the direction towards which it leaned. And thus had they travelled for many days, when they found themselves upon the margin of an O-kk-na-chitto, or great highway of water. Here did they pitch their tents, and having planted their staff, retired to repose. When morning came, the oracle told them that they must cross the river before them. They built themselves a thousand rafts, and reached the opposite shore in safety.

"They now found themselves in a country of surpassing loveliness, where the trees were so high as almost to touch the clouds, and where game of every variety, and the sweetest of fruits, were found in the greatest abundance. The flowers of this land were more brilliant than any they had ever before seen, and so large as often to shield them from the sunlight of noon. With the climate of the land they were delighted, and the air they breathed seemed to fill their bodies with a new vigor. So pleased were they with all this that they saw, that they built mounds in all the most beautiful valleys they passed through, so that the Master of Life might know that they were not an ungrateful people. In this new country did they conclude to remain, and here did they establish their national government, with its benign laws.

"Time passed on, and the Choctaw nation became so powerful that its hunting grounds extended even to the sky. Troubles now arose among the younger warriors and hunters of the nation, until it came to pass that they abandoned the cabins of their forefathers, and settled in distant regions of the earth. Thus from the very body of the Choctaw Nation have sprung those other nations which are known as the Chickasaws, the Cherokees, the Creeks, or Muskogees, the Shawnees and the Delawares. And in the process of time, the Choctaws found a great city, wherein their most aged men might spend days in peace; and because they loved those of their people who had long before departed into distant regions, they called this city Yazoo, the meaning of which is 'Home of the People who are gone'."

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In 1854 the *Advocate* carried an appeal to the people of the South written by Rev. D. N. McIntosh, October 5, 1854. Rev. H. F. Buckner had been recalled from his field of usefulness in the Creek Nation, that he might assist the Board of Missions. Those who customarily think of the Creeks of that period as an uneducated people will be surprised at the excellent command of English displayed by this Creek Indian, in the preparation of the paper for himself and associate Creek ministers:

"Dear Brethren:—The fact that brother Buckner has been called to act as agent in raising funds for the purpose of relieving the Board of embarrassment, is causing a great deal of regret among our brethren.

"The news was as unexpected as it was discouraging. 'Not a dollar,' says the *Indian Advocate* 'is in the treasury,' and on this account we were obliged to give up our only missionary, after the five years of almost unparalleled success in which he has preached Christ among us. Many of us were brought to the foot of the Cross under his ministry. His name is associated with our first serious impressions of any obligation to return a Saviour's love by obedience and change of life. But we will not murmur at the dealings of Him whose afflictions are kindly sent. Even the present crisis may be fraught with good. Of this we feel assured—the Lord doeth all things well. But are our infant organizations to be left to struggle on alone? Before we have learned to walk, must we assume all the responsibility of full grown men? Badly versed in the common requirements of the church relation, how are we to decide questions which must often arise among us, and that require counsel which few of us are competent to give? Can we preserve our existence without such counsels, and are we hereafter to depend only on the aid which our present condition can afford us?'

"Such are questions that present themselves to our minds. Our congregations are the largest in the nation. We are preparing beyond our most ardent anticipations, and now our brother who has, under God, been an active instrument in bringing about this state of things, is to be taken from us—and why? Because money is wanting to sustain missionaries. To whom does the Board look for this money? The Baptist churches of the South. To these Baptist churches, then, we appeal, in this our time of need. Is there no way of meeting the present crisis? You have wealth. On you religion and moral light has beamed with uncommon refulgence. Compared with a great part of the world, seems —

'Like another morn risen on mid-noon.'

and your physical means of gratification have kept pace with your moral and intellectual.

"On lands over which our fathers roamed in freedom, which they never dreamed would be wrenched from them by violence or ingratitude, you are raising families, and surrounding them with all the luxuries which a fruitful soil and profitable mercantile connections can bestow. Your children prattle in lovely inno-

cense over our fathers' graves. — Could we hear their glad voices as do you, each silver tone would strike upon our ears like echoes from the tomb. The ashes of our ancestors have mingled with the soil which turns in rich and grateful fertility before your plow. The axe of the white man has felled the forests in whose shades we had our birth — and those wilds which once echoed with the shouts of the chase, and which at a later period had begun to repay our attempts at agriculture, are now busy marts of trade, which is enriching a race whose fast tendencies have dispossessed us of their advantages. The rivers and lakes on whose banks our maidens sang notes to their lovers, and our braves mingled in the wild war-dance now echo with riper civilization, from the influence of which we are driven to begin a new civilization farther west, surrounded by temptations which are the legitimate results of our removal, and the money allowed us by your people; the latter alluring your transient and most avaricious traders to our borders, whose influence, which it teaches us how to gratify our cupidity, at the same time makes a mock of the restraints of virtue, by clothing vice in a garb often mistaken for manliness and honor.

"Our people who aided you against your British enemies, and who were to have been remembered and remunerated, had their own lands taken from them to defray the expenses of a war in which they acted in good faith as allies.

" 'The United States were to take as much of the lands as may appear to the Government thereof to be a just indemnity for the expenses of the war, and as a restitution for the injuries sustained by its citizens and the friendly Creek Indians.'

"Five times as much land was taken as was necessary to defray these expenses, and instead of having been taken of the hostiles, it was taken of the lower Creeks, who acted as allies to Gen. Jackson; not, however, on the ground of the justness of the measure, but because of "considerations interesting to the United States relative to the Spanish dominions immediately South of us."

"For these lands the friendly Creeks are not yet remunerated, nor are their Chiefs remembered, as promised by Gen. Pinckney.

"We might say much more, but letting this suffice, have we not a claim, aside from Christian sympathy, on your generosity?

So long as we are affiliated with these 'harpies,' to quote from a distinguished Senator, 'who prey upon the destinies of the Indians, and pursue them, instead of the benign influences of the Government, as they are sent on their pilgrimage to the wilderness,' may we not hope for your aid in neutralizing their influence and wresting from them their power of evil?

"In our day of trial we come to you, and ask your aid. Our brother will tell you our condition. He will tell you how desirous many of us are for the salvation of our people.

"Give us the enlightening influences of religious instruction, and we may in time be able to send that influence to our brethren of the Plains. You will be rewarded by the approbation of God, and your foot steps will be followed by tears of gratitude. The remembrance of your zeal shall descend to our children, and they will bless you. And, now, brethren, we ask your prayers, that God may bless our efforts in behalf of our country—for whatever may be the result, we mean to be found at our posts, and die with the harness on. Give us at least your sympathy in our struggle. You have already done much, and in acknowledging it we feel drawn toward you by ties of affection and friendship. It is our wish that those ties may never be tarnished by doubt or destroyed by suspicion. — United in Christ, let us bid each other God speed, and finally meet around the throne of our common Father, to cement through an eternity of joy the union which his Spirit had began on earth.

James Perryman, D. N. McIntosh, Louis McIntosh, Chilly McIntosh, William McIntosh, Thos. McIntosh, Jacob Hawkins, Yatoojah, Lafayette Marshall, John Smith, James Yarjah, Monday, Henry Islands (Haloche), Sam'l Yarjah, Martin Vann (Deacon), Willy Vann, S. C. Brown, Gov. Nero."

THE TWO CATTLE TRAILS

ENROLLED

House Bill No. 149

By: *Thornhill, McClintock, Burton, Hutchinson, Faulk, Daniel, Warhurst, Snoddy, Stanley, Martin, Graham, Kenison, Roper, Baldwin, Kight, Galbreath and Major* of the House, and *Clark, Otjen, Ewing* and *Kimerer* of the Senate.

AN ACT PROVIDING FOR LOCATING, TRACING, MAPPING AND FILING PLATES OF THE LINES OF THE OLD ESTABLISHED CATTLE TRAILS ACROSS THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA, AND PROVIDING FOR THE EXPENSES OF SUCH WORK, AND DECLARING AN EMERGENCY.

Be It Enacted by the People of the State of Oklahoma:

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the State Highway Department of the State of Oklahoma, and the said department is required to immediately locate the correct line of the old established Chisholm Trail across the State of Oklahoma, showing as near as possible the exact location that the same crossed each section of land in said state in its course from the point where said trail crossed the south line of said state in southern Jefferson County, Oklahoma, to where it crossed the north line of said state in northern Grant County, Oklahoma, and said Highway Department shall also locate in the same manner the correct line of the old established Texas Cattle Trail crossing western Oklahoma from where it crossed the south line of the State of Oklahoma, crossing the Red River at what is known as Doan's Store or Doan's Crossing, and following the line of the said trail north to where it crossed the north line of said State of Oklahoma south of Dodge City or Fort Dodge, Kansas. The said department shall cause maps to be made of the said locations so determined by them, which said maps shall show the location of the main line of the Rock Island Railway running across said state to Dallas, Texas, and shall show the location of the present Meridian Highway, being Government Highway No. 81, across said state, and the proximity of said railroad and said highway to the said trail.

JESSE CHISHOLM

SECTION 2. At least one copy of the said maps above referred to shall be retained in the office of the State Highway Department, and one copy shall be furnished to the State Historical Society to be preserved in the office of said society, and that smaller copies of the same shall be prepared, either by drafts or by printing, and shall be by the said Highway Department and by the said State Historical Society furnished to all known map makers, who are making and placing upon the market maps of the State of Oklahoma, so that the same may be copied and inserted on said maps.

SECTION 3. That all expenses connected with the carrying out of this provision shall be defrayed and paid by the State Highway Department out of any available funds in their hands, provided, that in no event, shall the expense exceed five hundred dollars ($500.00) out of the General Revenue Fund.

SECTION 4. It being immediately necessary for the preservation of the public peace, health and safety, an emergency is hereby declared to exist, by reason whereof this Act shall take effect and be in full force from and after its passage and approval.

PASSED by the House of Representatives this the 27th day of March, 1931.

CARLTON WEAVER,
Speaker of the House of Representatives

PASSED by the Senate this the 26th day of March, 1931.

ROBERT BURNS
President of the Senate

APPROVED by the Governor of the State of Oklahoma: On this the 31 day of March, 1931

WM. H. MURRAY.

CORRECTLY ENROLLED
LUTHER E. GREEN
Vice Chairman, Committee on Enrolled and Engrossed Bills.

STATE OF OKLAHOMA
STATE HIGHWAY COMMISSION
Oklahoma City
February 19, 1936

Mr. Dan Peery, Secretary
Oklahoma Historical Society
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Dear Sir:

In accordance with House Bill No. 149, which provided for the locating, tracing and mapping of the Chisholm and Texas Cattle Trails across Oklahoma by the State Highway Department, we are transmitting herewith for the files of the Historical Society tracings of the two trails as located by the Highway Department from the historical data also attached.

Very truly yours,
VAN T. MOON,
State Highway Engineer.

THE TEXAS CATTLE TRAILS

By
H. S. Tennant
State Highway Department.

After the close of the Civil War in May, 1865, Texas was our large cattle country, without railroads for transportation, the large cattle companies had to arrive at some source of transportation for their cattle. Apparently the best way to move the cattle in those days was by a trail leading north to some railroad so they could ship to a market.

The south end of the Texas Trail began at Brownsville, Texas, Carver County, and traversed in a northern direction through the state to old Red River station located in Montague County, on the south bank of Red River, near the mouth of Salt Creek. This trail was called the Eastern Trail in Texas and the Chisholm Trail through the Indian Territory to Caldwell, Kansas, and in the early days of 1866, cattle were driven to Abilene, Kansas.

In Wilson County, Texas, another trail branched off of the Eastern Trail and ran in a northwest course into Menard County and then in a general north direction to Wilbarger County, Texas, which is located just south of Red River and was called the Western Trail in Texas. Doan's Store was the last town on this Western Trail in Texas, established in 1874 by C. F. Doan.

Mrs. Mable Doan Igou is a daughter of C. F. Doan and now lives in the old adobe house, located just across the street from where the original store was. Mrs. Igou is now 48 years old and remembers a great deal of the old stories of Texas cattle men.

October 21 and 22, 1931, the people of Oklahoma and Texas dedicated a large granite marker at the site of Doan's Store. On a bronze plate east side of this marker, is the following inscription: "In honor of the trail drivers who freed Texas from the yoke of debt and despair by their trails to the cattle markets of the far north; we dedicate this stone, symbol of their courage and fortitude, at the site of the old Doan's Store, October 21-22, 1931, The Longhorn Chisholm Trail and the Western Trail, 1876-1895. This monument built of Texas Granite, by G. W. Backus."

The town of Doan, Texas, is located about 1½ miles south of the original cattle crossing of Red River in Wilbarger County, Texas, at this noted crossing of Red River the trail entered Indian Territory and is called The Texas Cattle Trail by the Oklahoma Legislature House Bill No. 149.

Texas Cattle Trail entered Indian Territory, now Oklahoma, in Section 24, T 2 S, R 20 W, Jackson County. The trail then ran in a general Northern direction along and generally paralleling the north fork of Red River on the west side going 2 miles east of the little town of Hess, Oklahoma, and north about ½ mile east of Humphries, then on north as laid out on the county maps, missing Altus 5 miles to the East where the trail crossed Highway No. 62 and on north by the store of Friendship, then in a northeast course going ¾ miles east of Warren, Oklahoma, in the NW¼ of Section 27, T 4 N, R 19 W. There was a well and said to be a very good camp ground. From this well the trail bore in a northwest course through the sand hills to the crossing of North Fork of Red River.

Mr J. C. Chisholm, age 62 years, of Altus, says he is the third cousin of the old original (Cow) John Chisholm of Texas. He showed me this trail from Doan's Store on the Red River crossing through Jackson County, to the crossing of the North Fork of Red River.

N. J. McElroy, 75 years old and now living in Section 14, T 4 N, R. 19 W, has driven cattle over this trail in 1874 and to 1887

from Doan's Store to Dodge City, Kansas. The Comanche Indians kidnaped N. J. McElroy at the age of 9 years (near his present location) in the year of 1869 and kept him for 5 months and 20 days. He says the trail was called Lone Star in the year of 1874.

Maxwell and Morris drove the first herd of cattle over this trail in 1874 coming from southern Texas, via of Doan's Store and going to Dodge City, Kansas. W. F. (Fox) Chambers age 79, cut herds on the Texas Cattle Trail in the year of 1886, has traveled the trail from Doan's Store to North Canadian River. After crossing the North Fork of Red River, the trail going in a northwest course, through the Wichita Mountains now called Granite Mountains, missing Lugert, Oklahoma, three miles east and on to Gyp Springs located in Section 7, T 5 N, R 19 W, then in a Northwest course to a spring and camp ground located in Section 21, T 5 N, R 19 W, then in a Northwest course to a spring and camp ground located in Section 21, T 6 N, R 20 W, then northerly and close to the north fork of Red River to the Geo. W. Briggs ranch established in 1881, and then on north, crossing several small streams so the drivers could get water for their herds, then on north through the east side of now Port, Oklahoma.

The trail located at this point by L. W. Mathews, post master, at Port, Oklahoma. From Port, Oklahoma, the trail went generally north along and practically paralleling Trail, Elk Creek on the west side, by Soldier Springs, located on the east side of Section 3, T 9 N, R 20 W, another good camp ground. Crossing Highway No. 41, just west of the 41 Gin, and up Trail Elk Creek in a north and east course and going one and three-fourths miles east of Canute, Oklahoma, at this point the trail is ten miles east of Elk City, where it crosses Highway No. 66, going on north crossing Oak Creek in Section 27, T 12 N, R 20 W, Dalph Picklesimes Ranch located where Red Buck was killed in 1897. Then the trail took a northeast course to the Rock Crossing of Washita River. In the SW¼ of Section 2, T 12 N, R 18 W, on Washita River is where General Custer was camped in 1875.

The soldiers were camped at the mouth of Panther Creek, where Westerly Breeding was killed in 1894, in Section 16, T 13

N, R 19 W. From the Washita crossing the trail going north by then, Edwardsville, located in Section 26, T 13 N, R 17 W, north and one mile west of the town of Butler, Oklahoma, on north through a rough hilly country generally following the water divides to Ed Kauk, located in Section 27, T 15 N, R 10 W., then a northwest direction generally being on the divide between Wild Horse and west Barnett Creek on north and east, crossing west Barnett Creek about two miles southwest of Rhea, Oklahoma. The trail is one and one-quarter miles west of Rhea, then on northerly through the Gyp hill and then going through what was known as the McKeuger Flats in the early days, we would say now, South Canadian River low lands and now a wonderful farming country, mostly wheat and cotton, on through McKeuger flats just west of the town of Rhea and crossng the South Canadian River just west of now the M. K. & T. Railway bridge, where the trail was very plain on the south bank of the river. From the Canadian River crossing the trail going north and east along the south edge of Camargo, Oklahoma, then crossing Trail Creek, near its mouth and on up the divide, between Trail and Gyp Creek, to Cedar Springs, a very noted watering place located in Section 21, T 19 N, R 20 W. This Cedar Spring was considered very good drinking water and now on the farm of Greal Turner. The trail was plain where located in an unbroken pasture land, but where the country is solid in cultivation, I was guided by some local old timers, that had been familiar with the trail before the country was put in cultivation.

From Cedar Springs, the trail ran in a northwesterly direction to the Northeast corner of the south half of Section 31, T 19 N, R 20 W, at this point was the south boundary line of now Woodward County. This south boundary line of Woodward County was the south line of the Cherokee Strip, which was opened for settlement September 16, 1893. From this point to the Oklahoma-Kansas line I was guided largely by an old map of the Cherokee Strip, then Indian Territory under date of 1883, at this date the Cherokee Strip was not sectionized and the old timers describe this trail mostly by streams, as follows: Going in a northwesterly direction near the head of South Persimmon and North Persimmon Creek and then by a stream near the head of Indian Creek, then bearing westerly by some ponds to Horse Shoe Lake on Wolf

Creek, then up Sixteen Mile Creek over the divide into the head waters of Otter Creek, on down Otter Creek and crossing Beaver Creek near the mouth of Clear Creek, then on north by or near Buffalo Springs, now called Doby Springs, then on over the divide into the head waters of Redoubt Creek and on down Redoubt Creek to the Oklahoma-Kansas line, at this point the trail is just East of Redoubt Creek on the farm now owned by Harl Shoeman, entering the south side of Woodward County, seven miles south and two miles west of Sharon, Oklahoma, going in a northwest course, crossing South Persimmon Creek, where there are some small ponds located and said to be a very good watering place for cattle.

The first twelve miles north into Woodward County, the trail was very plain in the sand hills, crossing North Persimmon Creek five miles south and one mile west of Sharon, Oklahoma, then the trail bends around considerably due to rough sand hills on to a spring at the head of Indian Creek Spring located in Section 15, T 21 N, R 21 W, the trail ran in a northwest course crossing through almost a solid cultivated land and was very dim and could not be exactly located. Crossing Wolf Creek in Ellis County, two miles north of Fargo, Oklahoma, at what is known as Horse Shoe Lake, Wolf Creek at this point has changed its channel from one-quarter to one-half mile east crossing on the south side of the original Horse Shoe Lake, John Smith, Fargo, Oklahoma, 58 years old, showed me this crossing and also showed me where the Texas Cattle Trail crosses the old Wagon trail that ran from Fort Supply to old Fort Elliott.

After leaving Wolf Creek, the trail ran in a northwesterly course, generally paralleling sixteen mile creek on the north and east side, staying near this creek presumably for water. I found this trail in pasture land to be very plain, through this portion of Ellis County, the country is hilly and rough.

Herman Flaherty, 63 years old, showed me this trail in Section 14 and 15, T 23 N, R 24 W, and has lived at this location for the past thirty years.

Crossing over the divide and following the highland going into the headwaters of Otter Creek, on the East Otter Creek, located in Section 28, T 24 N, R 24 W, is where Otto and Pete Liene-

mann now live in a log or slab house, that their father moved from Old Fort Supply in 1905 and built same on the Texas Cattle Trail. Going on north down and close to the East branch of Otter Creek, crossing from Woodward into Harper County, two miles south and three miles west of May, Oklahoma, crossing Beaver Creek, near the mouth of Clear Creek, this location was shown to me by Mr. J. H. Pennington, 78 years old, of May, Oklahoma, and now lives one mile west and two miles south of the Beaver Creek Crossing.

From Beaver Creek crossing, the trail ran generally north through the sand hills, plain at times, and its location was shown to me by local people who live near the trail, going through W. H. Neff's farm who is 56 years old and lives in the SE¼ of Section 21, T 26 N, R 24 W, at this location the trail is five miles east of Laverne, Oklahoma. Going on north across the divide between Buffalo and Beaver Creek, crossing Highway 64, six miles east of Rosston, Oklahoma, and missing Buffalo Springs, now called Doby Springs, two miles west. This location was shown me by Chas. Dunagan, 64 years old, now living in Section 9, T 27 N, R 24 W, one mile west of the Doby Springs.

Mr. Dunagan has driven cattle from Doan's Store in Texas, through Indian Territory in the year 1888 to Dodge City, Kansas and he tells me that I have the correct location on the maps. From Doby Springs the trail going generally north down Redoubt Creek and going by what was once Yelton, Oklahoma, no town or buildings there now, on the Oklahoma-Kansas Line, where it leaves Oklahoma in the northwest corner of Section 14, T 29 N, R 24 W, this ranch now owned by Harl Shoeman.

The last ten miles in Harper County were almost solid cultivation. Mr. T. H. Snider now living in Section 19, T 28 N, R 24 W, helped me locate the trail. In 1901 when Mr. Snider first settled on this farm, the trail was very plain. Mr. Snider hauled supplies from Ashland, Kansas, to his farm, when this trail was the only road in that section of the country.

Mr. Brad Grimes, 75 years old, of Ashland, Kansas, says he came over this trail as I have it located on the map, with cattle from Texas in the year of 1877 and 1884. Mr. Grimes says this trail was called John Chisholm Trail in the late 70's and early

80's. Mr. Grimes now owns a ranch five miles north of Buffalo, Oklahoma, and is still active in the cattle business, only on a smaller scale.

Melch Ortiz, a Mexican, 74 years old, of Buffalo, Oklahoma, worked for W. B. Grimes at the age of 14, as a horse wrangler. Mr. Grimes usually had one hundred to one hundred and five head of horses with a herd of cattle that was driven from Texas to Dodge City, Kansas, for the northern markets. Ortiz worked for the Grimes Brothers for thirty-six years and came up what was called then the Chisholm Trail in 1877 to 1884, which was the last trip. Then Mr. Grimes bought a ranch at Kiowa, Kansas, and he worked on this ranch from 1885 to 1893 as a cow hand. Ortiz tells me that I have the trail located on the maps as he remembers it; also says that they did not come through now Woodward or old Camp Supply. Ortiz informs me that they came up the Jesse Chisholm Trail from Red River Station to Caldwell, Kansas in the year of 1878 or 1879 with a herd of cattle.

L. Mason, 78 years old, of Supply, Oklahoma, who has lived in Supply for the past sixty-one years, came here on the first day of June, 1872 and he says the old Texas Cattle Trail did not come through old Fort Supply, but was west of Supply as I have shown on the county maps. Mrs. L. Mason says old Fort Supply was established in 1868.

John A. Trotter, 80 years old, of Sharon, Oklahoma, moved from Greer County, Texas in 1893 over this old trail, this being the only north and south road in the country, and has lived here since.

Most of the old timers now living along and near this old cattle trail say the correct name is the Chisum or Chisholm Trail (spelled both ways).

Attached to this information I have some articles written by old trail drivers, clippings from Oklahoma State Highway Journal, a monthly magazine, June 1931, issue. I have been guided largely by old timers living along this cattle trail and have talked personally with the most of them, as to its correct location.

J. C. Chisum	62 years old	Altus,	Oklahoma
W. F. (Fox) Chambers	79 " "	"	"
A. G. Wilson	77 " "	Hess,	"

J. A. Madden	70	"	"	Hess, Oklahoma
N. J. McElroy	75	"	"	Blair, "
John L. McDonald	52	"	"	Port, "
R. P. Dunn	62	"	"	" "
J. A. McDonald	83	"	"	Carter, "
W. F. Copeland	78	"	"	Lone Wolfe, "
O. F. Curry	59	"	"	" " "
T. F. Wright	48	"	"	" " "
R. W. (Bob) Winters	55	"	"	" " "
Tom P. Tackett	73	"	"	" " "
Geo. W. Briggs	81	"	"	Granite, "
S. H. Tittle	75	"	"	" "
I. W. Estes	76	"	"	Headrick, "
L. M. Mathews	64	"	"	Port, "
J. B. Sullins	65	"	"	Canute, "
Q. E. Bates	60	"	"	" "
O. Rea	69	"	"	" "
G. W. Turney	54	"	"	" "
D. W. (Mat) Blocker	83	"	"	Elk City, "
P. R. Ackley	69	"	"	" " "
Cris Kauk	57	"	"	Butler, "
John Kinner	65	"	"	" "
F. T. Walker	75	"	"	" "
Bob Nickels	68	"	"	" "
U. G. Armstrong	68	"	"	" "
Henry Bibbs	69	"	"	" "
W. I. Richardson	65	"	"	" "
W. N. Chandler	71	"	"	Leedy, "
Frankie Benge	76	"	"	" "
Sam A. Stout	81	"	"	" "
Ben Axton	60	"	"	" "
Geo. Allen	84	"	"	" "
J. M. Patterson	59	"	"	" "
W. A. Patterson	56	"	"	" "
S. P. (Price) Hall	72	"	"	" "
J. A. (Allen) Mulkey	70	"	"	" "
Tom Black	73	"	"	Camargo, "
Jeff Rhorer	70	"	"	" "
Greal Turner				Vici, "
G. W. Trimble	41	"	"	" "

S. F. Kygar	54	”	”	Vici, Oklahoma
I. P. Ventioner	70	”	”	Lenora, ”
John A. Trotter	80	”	”	Sharon, ”
Buck Walsh	58	”	”	Woodward, ”
G. K. Tousley	60	”	”	Vici, ”
W. H. Payton				Woodward, ”
H. E. McDonald	48	”	”	” ”
C. S. Baird	68	”	”	” ”
John Smith	60	”	”	Fargo, ”
Henry Schmidt				Tangier, ”
Herman Flherty	63	”	”	Gage, ”
Robert Ward				” ”
Otto Lienemann	51	”	”	May, ”
P. T. Pete Lienemann	51	”	”	” ”
Mrs. S. H. James	75	”	”	Laverne, ”
W. R. Cornell	84	”	”	” ”
C. C. (Chris) Doby	90	”	”	” ”
W. F. Kinney	65	”	”	” ”
S. T. Love				” ”
J. H. Pennington	78	”	”	May, ”
P. E. McAlheney				Rosston, ”
Frank Armstrong				Laverne, ”
W. H. Neff	56	”	”	” ”
Mrs. Mable Dean Igou	48	”	”	Doan, Texas
L. (Grandma) Mason	78	”	”	Supply, Oklahoma
Jack Innis	70	”	”	” ”
Melch Ortiz (Mexican)	74	”	”	Buffalo, ”
Brad Grimes	75	”	”	Ashland, Kansas
J. H. Snider	74	”	”	Rosston, Oklahoma
J. Shumann				” ”
W. H. Painter	67	”	”	” ”
Chas. Dunagan	64	”	”	Buffalo, ”

—o—

* C-O-P-Y *

Oklahoma City, Okla.
June 15, 1933

Mr. H. S. Tennant
Oklahoma State Highway Commission
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Dear sir,

Drivers starting cattle drives from southern Texas usually started from the vicinity of San Antonio, going north thru Texas. In the late sixties after the Civil War, the State of Texas was checkerboard cattle country. Cattle was driven from practically all points in Texas north to the northern markets. In the year of 1866 just after the Civil War, cattle was first driven over the Eastern Texas Trail in Texas, crossing Red River at what was known as the Old Red River Station, located in Texas near the mouth of Salt Creek in Montague County.

At the Old Red River Station, then entered Indian Territory going north up the Jesse Chisholm Trail, going on by Monument Hills, crossing Cow Creek at the old Duncan Store, then on north thru now the town of Marlow; thence on by the old Cook Brothers Store, located on the Washita River, crossing the Washita River at the old Rock crossing about four miles southeast of the present town of Chickasha, thence on north to the old town of Silver City, located on the south bank of the South Canadian River, located about two miles north of the present town of Tuttle, then on north crossing the Cimarron River near the mouth of Kingfisher Creek, thence to Dover, thence on north to Hennessey where Pat Hennessey was killed by the Indians in 1874. The Trail ran on north through the town of Enid by the Bull Foot Springs and on north thru Pond Creek and east of Medford to Caldwell, Kansas. This was the end of the Chisholm Trail in Old Oklahoma, or Indian Territory.

As the country began settling up the drives had to be changed further west. About 1876 drivers began crossing at Doan's Store at what was known in Texas as the Western Trail Crossing of Red River. Entering Indian Territory near the mouth of the north Fork of Red River, then on north about six miles east of the town of Altus, and crossing the North Fork of Red River, north of the present town of Warren; going on north thru the Wichita Mountains, later called the Granite Mountains. The trail ran on northeast, east of the present town of Granite, thru the town of Port and on up on the west side of the Trail Elk Creek by the old Soldiers' Spring and about two miles east of Canute, Oklahoma.

Crossing Oak Creek in the south part of Custer county in S. 31 T 12 N, R 19 W, then on northeast to the crossing of Washita River about six miles south of Butler, Oklahoma, the Trail go-

ing north up the water divide between Washita River and Barnett Creek. Missing the town of Ray, Oklahoma one mile west, then on north through the Gyp Hills entering the McKenzie Flats east of the town of Leedy, Oklahoma, and west of the South Canadian River, going just west of the town of Trail, crossing the South Canadian River just west of the present bridge of the M. K. & T. Railroad about a mile and one-half south of Camargo, Oklahoma. The Trail then bore west crossing Trail Creek, west of Camargo, going up the divide between Gyp Creek and Trail Creek and on by the old Cedar Springs which was a very noted watering place and camp ground.

Then on north the Trail ran crossing near the head of South Persimmon Creek then on north near the head of North Persimmon Creek and by the old spring near the head of Indian Creek. Thence the Trail bore in a northwest course crossing Wolf Creek near the mouth of Boggy Creek. Then the Trail went on northwest crossing the divide into the headwaters of Otter Creek going on down Otter Creek and crossing Beaver Creek near the mouth of Clear Creek, which is located about three miles northwest of May, Oklahoma. Then the Trail ran in the general northern direction and going by old Buffalo Springs which is now called Doby Springs. Mr. Chris Doby filed on the claim in 1893, the year the Cherokee Strip opened, and lived on this place until the year of 1912, now owned by John D. Carter The Trail ran on across the divide going down near Readout Creek crossing the Oklahoma-Kansas State line, just east of Readout Creek and crossing the Cimarron River at what was known in those days as Deep Hole.

Data or Personal Statement of

C. C. (Chris) Doby of Laverne, Oklahoma. Age 90, June 27, 1933. Came from North Carolina in 1870 to Emporia, Kansas and went from Kansas to Indian Territory and then to Texas. He rode cattle trails the year round for forty five years for different companies in Indian Territory, Texas, Kansas, New Mexico and Colorado.

I have a right to know the Old Chisholm Trail as well as anyone now living. I knew Joe McCoy personally, the man who established the first stock pens at Abilene, Kanasas in 1867.

I knew Bat Masterson, Bob Wright, George Beverly, York and Draper, George W. Saunders of Cattle Commission Company of San Antonio and Forth Worth Texas. I knew Fort Worth when it was no more than blacksmith shop, Post Office and grocery store. I knew Ham Bell, Alf. Walker.

I knew the Trail from Doan's Store going thru the old Indian Territory and Nation to Dodge City, Kansas as heretofore described as the Tuttle Trail.

(Signed) C. C. (Chris) Doby.

As told by Mr. Peckham to Mr. H. S. Tennant on June 9, 1933 at Taloga, Oklahoma.

In April, 1883, I came from Dodge City, Kansas, and went to work on the YL Cattle Ranch. This ranch was located on the west side of the old Texas Cattle Trail and extended from the divide between Wolf Creek and the Cimarron to the Kansas line. The YL Cattle Company fenced this land in 1883. It paralleled the old Texas Cattle Trail for perhaps twenty-five miles, that is the east end. In working the country at that time we worked all over it. In general roundups and such like. That way the hands traveled all over the country. I went as far south as Doan's Store on Red River once. That is over into Texas. I went down there with two or three others and we worked on the general round-up. We came back through Texas, gathering up our cattle and taking them home.

I guess we had about 20,000 head on the range. We went along the various creeks and rivers, gathering up the cattle and had no particular route. We had no trouble in crossing any of the rivers. I can't remember anything in particular in the way of excitement. I was sent with L. H. Henry who was outside man for the YL Ranch. All of the land west of the North Fork was called Greer County at that time. There were no disputes that I remember of. We went down through what was called the Wichita Mountains. They are now called the Granite Mountains. I can't remember just where we crossed Red River. There was nothing there to mark the place.

As I remember the old Texas Cattle Trail, it crossed the South Canadian at just about the place where the railroad bridge is now

located just south of the town of Camargo, going along the divide between Trail Creek and Gyp Creek on to what was then known as Cedar Springs, which was a well known watering place and used for camping purposes. Then on to about ten miles west of Woodward, between Eight Mile Creek and Twenty-five Mile Creek. There the trail went across to the east side of Otter Creek and up to Buffalo Springs. And north from there and followed Redoubt Creek to the State line. The Texas Trail followed the old Supply Trail from Redoubt to Dodge City, Kansas, through Ashland, Kansas. There was a stage stand at Ashland, Kansas, run daily. I knew the men running them then but can't remember just now. The trails crossed Mulberry Creek twenty-five miles south of Dodge, where there was also a stage stand.

* * *

This old trail going from Dodge City almost straight south was known to everyone as the old Texas Cattle Trail. The north end was called the Dodge City Trail. I was raised about forty miles north of Dodge City, then came further south where I went to work in 1883 and worked on the cattle range. Not always for the same bunch—worked about six years, I guess. This old Texas Trail was the main trail from our ranch to Dodge City. The trail from the crossing on the Cimarron to the Kansas line was also a freight trail.

The old *Jones & Plummer Trail* went from Dodge City to Meade Center, crossed to Beaver City on the North Canadian, crossed Wolf Creek and went on west of Canadian City. This trail left the old Supply Trail about five miles south of Dodge City, and went in a general southwestern direction. Jones is now living at Woodward and I understand Plummer was killed sometime ago in Wyoming.

As I remember the old *original Chisholm Trail*—it went from Caldwell, Kansas, south to the west side of what is now Pond Creek, Oklahoma, through what is now the town of Enid, going through the Government Springs located there, and on south to Hennessey as it is now known, being named after a Pat Hennessey who was killed there. Then on south through Dover, across the Cimarron River and on the east side of the Kingfisher Creek, crossing the North Canadian about where Yukon is now. On south across the South Canadian at old Silver City where the

DOAN'S STORE IN THE EARLY DAYS
And group of typical citizens of that community.
Photo taken in 1888.

DOAN'S STORE

Johnson Ranch was located in the early 60's. On south across the Washita River at what was then known as Rock Crossing, now located about four miles south east of the present town of Chickasha. And on south to Cook Brothers Store located on the divide between Washita and Little Washita Creeks. And on south to approximately three miles east of the present Rush Springs, crossing Rush Creek near the Huntley Ranch, south through the present town of Marlow, south to old Duncan—old Duncan being located about two miles east of the present town of Duncan. In the early 60' and 70's there was no railroad in that country but in about 1892 the Rock Island Railroad built on south from Minco. At that time the old town of Duncan was moved over to the railroad where the present Duncan is located. I believe old Duncan was located on Cow Creek. Then south to about three miles east of Comanche and south to about three miles east of Addington. I know the old trail down as far as Rush Springs and have been on it, but just knew where it lead south from there.

In 1889 I filed on a claim in old Oklahoma about 12 miles east of Kingfisher. That was the year old Oklahoma opened. In those days the old Trail as above described was always known as the *Jesse Chisholm Trail.* And the Trail further west going through western Oklahoma north and south leading to Dodge City, Kansas, was always known as the old *Texas Cattle Trail.* At that time there was no question as to the names and meaning of each trail.

STATEMENTS OF BERTHA DOAN ROSS AND MABEL DOAN IGOU REGARDING ESTABLISHMENT OF DOAN'S STORE.

Doan's Store was established in April, 1878. We came in October, 1878 but Judge Doan came and established the post April, 1878. His family came from Wilmington, Ohio. J. Doan and C. F. Doan, our father, were in Fort Sill in 1874-75 buying hides from the Indians. The Indians suggested to them if they wished to put in a store, to come to this point.

Mr. J. Doan went back to Ohio sick, but there recovered and came back in 1878. He would follow the buffalo hunters from point to point, but made a permanent camp at Doan's Crossing

in 1878. When the family got here it was too late to see the herds pass. They lived in a pickett house. According to cow-boys the first cattle to come over the trail was what was known as wet cattle from Old Mexico. They were just two jumps ahead of the Uvalde Sheriff when they crossed the ford. These herds started the trail.

The first cattle driven over the trail was in 1876. According to old trail-drivers and old cow-boys this was not called the Chisholm trail at that time. The cow-boys merely spoke of it as the trail, the word Chisholm was not used. This is not on the Chisholm trail. The trail drivers sometimes called this the *Western Trail* and some times it was called the Texas-Kansas Trail. My father said the trail was called *Fort Griffin-Fort Dodge Trail.* About two or three years before my father died he emphatically stated that this was not the Chisholm trail. This trail passes through Kiowa and Comanche country. The real Chisholm trail went through the Creek and Cherokee country. Four hundred Texas cowmen of the Texas Trail Drivers Association went on record stating the fact that this was not the Chisholm Trail. The Chisholm Trail started from Red River Station.

The Trail was pushed West by nestors and fences, however, this trail was 125 miles west of the Chisholm Trail.

In nineteen years 7,000,000 cattle and 4,000,000 horses went over this trail. My father kept a perfect account of the trail through the years. He would keep the name of the trail bosses and the number of cattle and who they belonged to, but this book was destroyed.

The year 1881 was the peak of the cattle herds. In that year 301,000 head of cattle were driven through.

The first post office was established in 1879 and C. F. Doan was made post master. The name Baldwin Springs was sent into the Post Office department as the name of the post office. But the Post Office department claimed that there were too many towns named after some sort of spring and the application being signed by a Doan the Post Office department named the town Doan.

We know very little of the location of the trail in Oklahoma, but the trail drivers when starting out from Doan's Crossing

could see one of the Wichita Mountains which stood out from the rest and was in appearance like an Indian teepee, and they used this mountain as a landmark to guide them.

STATEMENTS OF N. J. McELROY WITH REFERENCE TO LOCATION OF THE WESTERN TRAIL.

The cattlemen started driving by the present site of Doan's Store in 1871. Maxwell and Morris drove the first herd going to Dodge City in 1871. The first men who made the trail went by the stars and had guides who knew where the watering holes and rivers were. These men knew nothing of the distances merely guessing at it. Some herds would start down on the Gulf and come up to Buffalo Gap, which was a popular place and source of supplies and come on up the trail.

The Maxwell-Morris trail started down at Buffalo Gap, Texas and came up by Albany in Shackleford County and on up by Fort Griffin and then up by Throckmorton. From Throckmorton it went to Seymour in Baylor County, then to Vernon, which was then called Eagle Flat. This was in 1871 and Doan's Store was not established in 1871. I later knew C. F. Doan. My father was a trader and hauled buffalo hides to various points such as Albany, Denison, Fort Worth and Doan's Store. After leaving Doan's Store we came on up through old Greer County close to North Fork and crossed North Fork of Red River north of Warren and went right up through the Wichita Mountains. We passed between what is now called Teepee Mountain and Soldiers Mountain. There were some soldiers stationed in the Wichita Mountains near a big spring.

Going on up through the Wichita Mountains we went a little to the East of Gyp Springs. Then we went on up just a little east of Lone Wolf, then on by the Comanche Springs and then turned to a East course, then turned northeast and crossed Elk Creek West of Hobart about four or five miles.

We went close to what is now the town of Port and then went west of Soldier's Springs and then right on up Trail Elk Creek.

After going up Trail Elk Creek we continued down Tenth Cavalry Creek on the north side thereof, then turned north along

a little creek called Dear Man's Creek. After this we went down a Canon called Poker Creek. Next we crossed Washita just west of the old Indian Agency. We crossed the Canadian at Camargo then went on up to Cedar Springs, which was a big watering place.

After leaving there we crossed South and North Persimmon, then went by a spring at the head of Indian Creek. We then crossed Wolf Creek near Horse Shoe Lake, about two miles north of the present town of Fargo. Then the trail went up Sixteen Mile Creek, then went down Otter Creek to the mouth of Clear Creek. We crossed the Beaver in close to the mouth of Clear Creek, then we went on in a little west of Doby Springs and we crossed the Cimarron at Dull Knife's Camp Ground.

The next place was up in Kansas, at a little town called Trail City. Before we came to Dodge we crossed Plumb Creek and Salt River, as well as several other creeks. I went up the trail in 1872-73-74 and '75. In 1876 myself and family settled in Wichita Falls, Texas. I again came up the trail in 1882 and the trail described above was the main trail on every trip.

The trail went six miles from Woodward. We sometimes left the main trail on Indian Creek and went just a little west of Woodward, then hit the *Fort Supply—Fort Sill* road and went just west of Fort Supply in order to keep off the reservation. Then we bore back east and hit the old trail and went up the old wagon trail from Camp Supply to Fort Dodge. After the trail hit the Kansas Line from Fort Supply, all trails are the same.

I trailed for Tom Waggoner, as well as the Wichita Land and Cattle Company. At that time a good cow-boy got from $50.00 to $200.00 per month. I had quite a reputation as a trail driver and never lost any cattle to the Indians, except on one trip when I herded cattle for Joe Estes.

McELROY'S INDIAN STORY

I was kidnaped by the Comanche Indians in 1860 and was held captive five months and twenty-one days. This happened in Montague County, Texas. I was a mere boy. The Indians took me up across the North Fork River, they also captured my brother and sister. My brother was seven years of age and I was nine.

They took me on and left my brother and sister with their women and children.

They took me on up to Comanche Springs, from there thirty-four warriors, two girls and myself started west.

We went to old Fort Sumner in New Mexico, from there to Newgate, Arizona. The Rangers struck the Indians in the Arizona Desert. Pursued in the Desert there was no water, except that to be obtained from the cactus plants.

We went on through the Rockies and came back down through Nebraska and Kansas on back to Fort Cobb. There my father traded the Indians $950.00 for me and $900.00 for my brother and sister, that is to say $900.00 each.

STATEMENT OF S. H. TITTLE WITH REFERENCE TO LOCATION OF WESTERN TRAIL

I first went over the trail in 1879. The trail went right through the town of Vernon, Texas, about a quarter of a mile west of the public square. From Vernon the trail went on up north to Doan's crossing on Red River, where Doan's Store is located. From Doan's Store the trail went along the West side of North Fork until it got to Navajo.

From Navajo the trail went on up to where it crossed the North Fork of Red River which was at a ford due north of old Warren. This crossing is also close to the present location of N. J. McElroy's place.

The trail then went through an opening in the mountains and continued on going a little west of the present town of Lone Wolf, Oklahoma. Then in order to obtain water for the cattle the trail swung in through George W. Brigg's ranch. From here the trail went on up by Canute and crossed the Washita River about the mouth of Oak Creek, just south of Butler and went on up close to where Vici is.

We crossed South Canadian close to Trail and then crossed Trail Creek at Camargo. From this point the trail went on over North and South Persimmon Creeks, then crossed Indian Creek West of the springs, then crossed Wolf Creek southwest of Fort Supply. From Wolf Creek the trail went on north and around

in west of where Supply is, crossing Beaver Creek in close to May, Oklahoma.

I never went north of Beaver Creek but went out through Beaver and Texas Counties. I never went up the trail from Beaver Creek on North to Fort Dodge, Kansas. When I went over the trail I was taking cattle from Clay County, Texas. I have herded for both John Powers and John Haynie.

* C-O-P-Y *

G. W. Briggs, Jr., Agent
Granite, Oklahoma.

July 6, 1933

Mr. H. S. Tennant
State Capitol Building
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
My Dear Mr. Tennant:

To fulfill a promise I made to you on June 29th, to write you a short sketch of the early Texas and Oklahoma Cow trails, bear in mind I will confine my remarks, mostly, to one main trail that started at point Isabel on the Rio Grande, thence north to San Antonio, Waco, Hillsboro, Fort Worth and Doans Store on Red River and from there to Dodge City. What I shall say about the location of this old trail shall be from my own observation, and driving over the northern portion, in the past fifty-four years, I located on this trail twenty five miles south of Vernon, Texas in 1879 on the Waggoner Ranch. In the early days this trail was known as the Abilene and Dodge trail, also as the Chisholm trail, but was never known as the Western Trail as some contend, for the reason that there was a trail west of this trail, that was used extensively in the early eighties. To my personal knowledge on May 1st, 1880 some men with myself from North Texas ranches, were sent to Doans Store to inspect all herds (for brands), that went up the trail that year. We were known as trail cutters, but the trail drivers called us the dirty bunch, because we relieved them of thousands of cattle that did not belong to them.

To best of my recollection, there were about four hundred fifty thousand cattle passed up the trail that year and about the same number in 1881. The average herd was about three thousand

cattle with about ten men per herd, each man having about seven horses. So you can see there were one hundred fifty herds, fifteen hundred men and ten thousand five hundred horses. I am reminded here of what an old Kiowa Indian Chief remarked to me one day while sitting on a hill top near Comanche Springs in 1881 after gazing stolidly over six big herds of cattle on a big flat below us. He said, "Texas heap cattle, heap horses."

Last year at the dedication of the old trail drivers monument at Doan's Store, I met about sixty of the old boys who wrangled the doggies up the trail in the early days of the trail. This monument to the old boys, was erected of a large piece of solid polished granite. Of the sixty old boys I met at that time, the youngest was seventy-five years old and the oldest was ninety-two years of age. The monument to the old trail drivers should stand in memory of the boys for hundreds of years.

Quotation from a letter from Jim McKinney of Coahoma, Texas:

"When driving cattle on the trail, there were two things required by the cow boys, when on night herd, he would have to whistle or sing. It is claimed by a poet that there will be another round-up when cowboys will have to stand and be cut out by a rider who is posted and knows every brand."

Here, I wish to pause and pay my respects to a friend who has just been cut out by the rider who knows every brand. I shall quote from the Fort Worth Star Telegram of July 4th, 1933. San Antonio, July 3rd—George W. Saunders, 79, Pioneer Cattleman of Texas, died Monday at 10:30 A. M. The name of Saunders is inseparably linked with the old trail driving days of the cattle industry. At the age of seventeen he drove his first herd across the plains, through swollen rivers and past the menace of Indians to the market at Abilene, Kansas. As the ranks of the gallant band of pioneers were thinned by time, in 1915 he was the founder of the Old Trail Drivers Association and two years later was elected President, a position held continuously thereafter. He was the inspiring force back of bringing out "The Trail Drivers of Texas", edited by J. Marvin Hunter, a book of recollections written by the trail drivers themselves. It has been declared that this volume will prove to be the stone-house of his-

torians and novelists for generations. He cherished memories of his picturesque past and only last year led twenty-five old trail drivers to Vernon and out to Doan's Crossing where a monument to the men who had driven the bellowing herds along the trail, crossing Red River at that point, was unveiled."

On May 10th, 1881, I was sent to Comanche Springs, on the North Fork of Red River five miles northeast of the present town of Granite, Oklahoma, to inspect all trail herds that went up the trail and stayed there until it was discontinued in 1889. I have been asked the question: When did the first trail herd cross Red River at Doan's Crossing? I do not claim to have positive knowledge of the first crossing. My knowledge only extends back to 1879 but I will quote from a part of a letter from J. M. (Jim) McKinney of Coahoma, Texas. "I will describe some of the routes of the old trails. The first cattle trail was made in 1867, between the Rio Grande and Des Moines, Iowa, by John Dudley. This trail was followed by John Chisholm in the early seventies from point Isabel, on the Rio Grande, to San Antonio, Waco, Hillsboro, Fort Worth and Doans on Red River and from there to Dodge City. Mr. Chisholm established another trail between San Antonio, Fort Conaho and Fort Stockton, and from there to Fort Sumner. John Chisholm was a large cattle king and was said to control nearly all the public domain in Central and Northern New Mexico. It was that from Fort Stockton to Fort Sumner was the longest stretch without water that was ever known on any trail. Nearly one hundred miles, on the long cattle trails were mirages. One could see in the distance great lakes of water, surrounded by trees but when you reached the place where the water was supposed to be, it was farther on."

Now, I will take the Texas trail also called the Chisholm trail from Doan's Crossing to where it leaves the State of Oklahoma and enters Kansas. After leaving Doan's Crossing the trail bore due north through old Greer county forty miles to Warren and crossed the North Fork of Red River; thence northwest to Comanche Springs on North Fork passing about four miles east of the present town of Lugert and about one mile east of the bridge on Highway No. 9, on North Fork. There was a company of U. S. Soldiers stationed at Comanche Springs as an escort to the herds to the Washita River and another company that went with

the herds to Supply on the North Canadian River. The trail leaving Comanche Springs due north to Elk Creek, thence north passing a little to the east of the present town of Canute. Thence north near the town of Butler, thence slightly west, passing a little to the east of Leedy; thence northwest to the present town of Trail, crossing the South Canadian at the west end of Burns Flat, thence northwest to the head of Persimmon Creek. The trail crosses Highway No. 34 near Camargo. At the head of Persimmon Creek there were two trails branched off from the main trail. The main trail went in a Northwestern direction passing west of Woodward and Supply, then turning north and passing east of Laverne, thence nearly north to the Kansas line. Several herds after leaving the head of the Persimmon Creek, went north to the North Canadian River and drifted up the stream from Woodward past Supply and joined the main trail again. The other branch of the trail left the head of Persimmon, went down Indian Creek to the North Canadian, thence down the river to Cantonement, crossing the river going north to the Cimarron River; thence east to Hunnewell and Caldwell and some going east to the Arkansas River, for finishing before sending to market.

I drove herds two years up the last mentioned route and delivered them at Caldwell and some of them on the Arkansas River.

The following note concerning the Western Trail published in the *Cheyenne Transporter*, printed at Darlington, May 28, 1883, is of interest in connection with this report as it confirms the findings of highway department, not only to the name of the trail, but the reason cattle and horses from Texas were driven north over this trail rather than the Chisholm trail.

"The following is a crude statement of herds passing up the western trail since the drive commenced. The cattle are shipped by rail from all parts of Texas to Wichita Falls, as it is no longer possible to bring a herd through the state on account of the fences. Thus the drive commences at Wichita Falls, Tex., where the herds take the trail:

"Dominion Cattle Co 2 herds, 3,400 young steers H Laforce in charge, and 2,600 yearlings steers T J Johnson in charge. The Texas Land and Cattle Co have five herds on the trail 3,000 Bill McClelan in charge, 3,030 Frank Brown, 2,750 Bill Simpson, 2,600 Joe Richey and 3,850 Jim Smith in charge. Henry Phillips 3,000 yearlings and cows in charge of Bill Green. Shanghi Pierce has 6,850 steers in 3 herds. The Standard Cattle Co have 4,500 in 2 herds. John Wilson has a herd of 3,100 bulls, 1, 2 and 3 years old from Old Mexico, something new in the way of a drive. Total cattle as above 41,680.

"Quite a number of horse herds reported, Frank Newton 480 saddle horses, James Bryant 600 unbroken horses and mules; W Myers 350 saddle horses and mules; Randolph & Worthington 700 unbroken horses and mules and I Little 530 mixed saddle and unbroken horses and mules. This latter herd was stampeded on Red River and lost 142 head. Total horses as above reported 2,660 head."—Ed.

I spoke of cutting out thousands of cattle from the herds but I don't want to leave the impression that the trail drivers were trying to steal them. Strays got into all herds and they were hard to keep out after once getting in. In all my experience, with trail drivers, I found them to be gentlemen with one exception. When a trail foreman offered me four hundred dollars to keep away from his herd and I cut four hundred head out of his herd.

I might go on and write many pages, telling of the taming of the wild and woolly west in the early days of the settling of Wichita, Clay, Wilbarger and Greer Counties, but it was the cow trails that you were interested in, so I will bring this Jig-Saw puzzle to a close.

(Signed) Geo. W. Briggs, Sr.

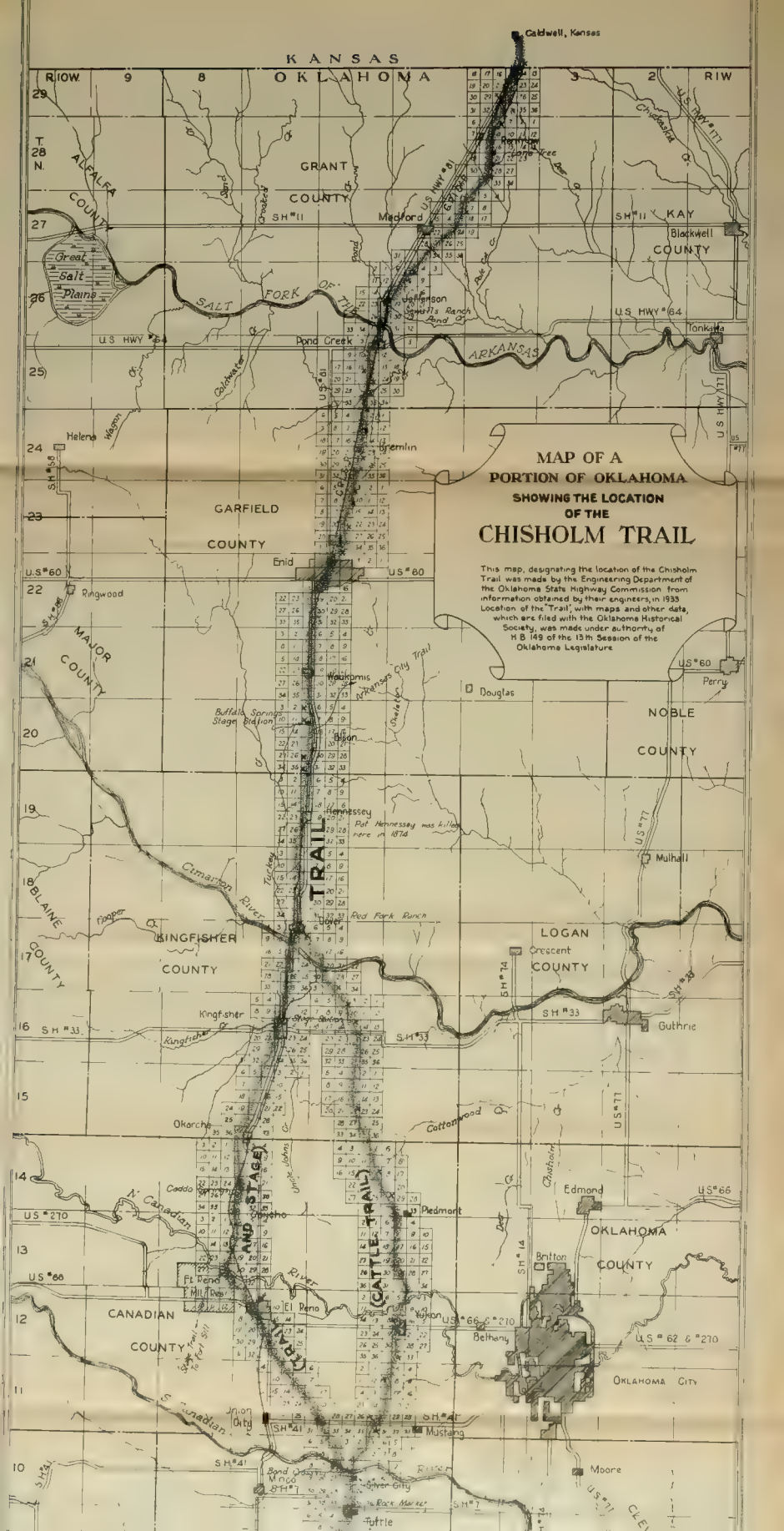
HISTORY OF THE CHISHOLM TRAIL

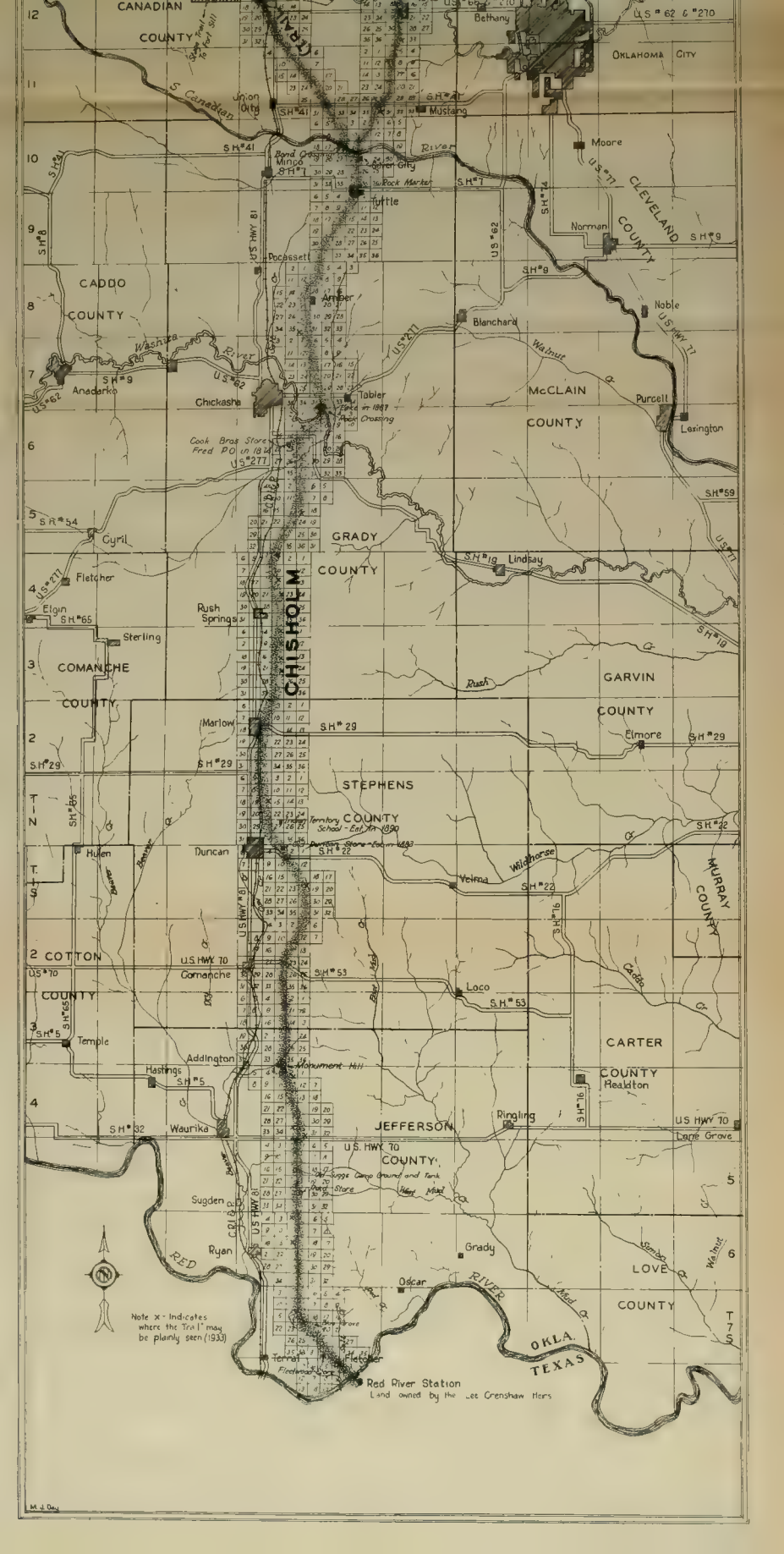
By H. S. Tennant
Oklahoma State Highway Commission
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

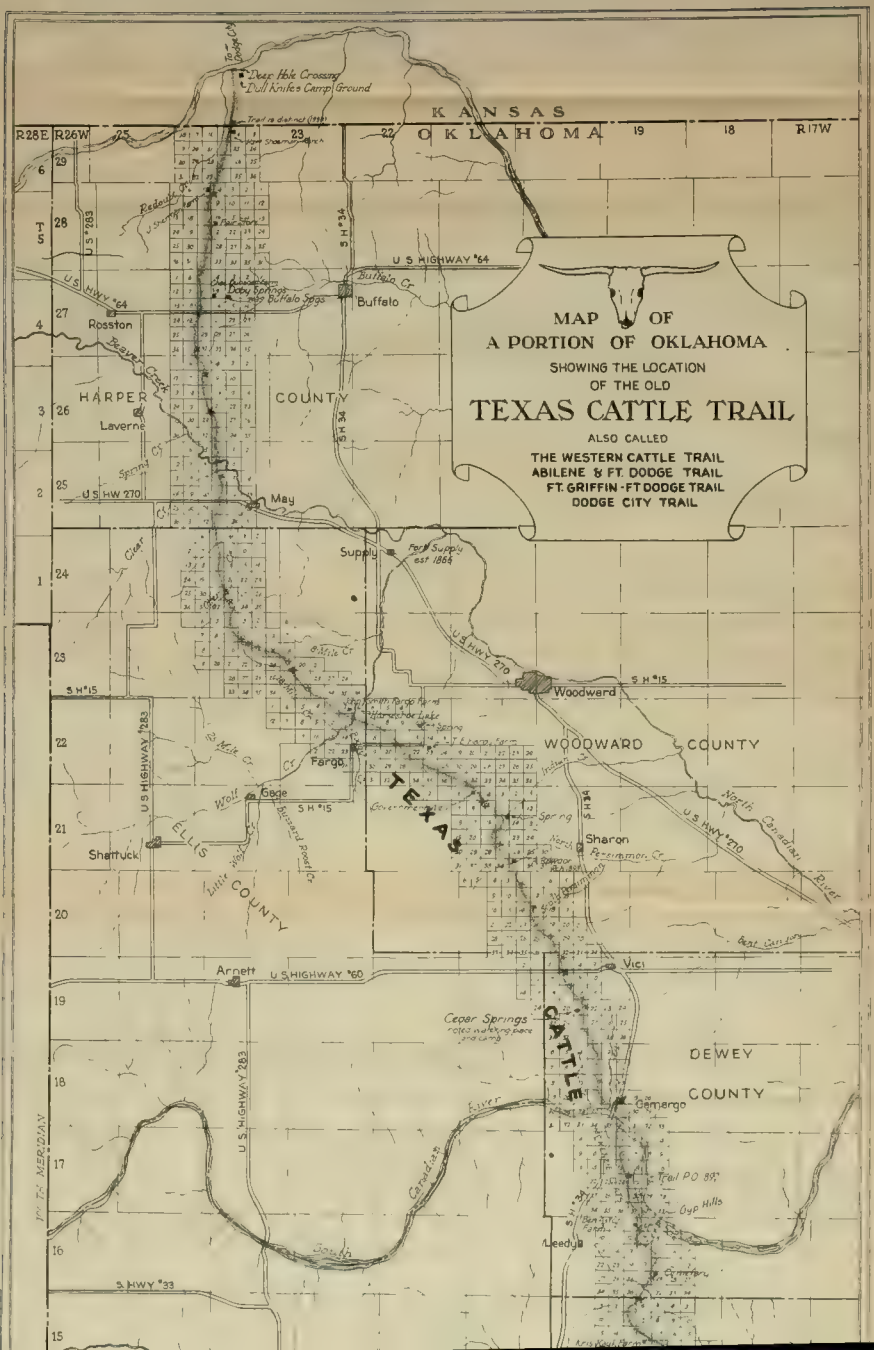
The histories of Oklahoma tell us a great deal about the Chisholm Cattle Trail. It is easy to find some very interesting articles that have been written about this noted cattle trail.

A large percentage of the old settlers of Indian Territory, vary relative to the location of the Chisholm Trail, some of this information would lead one to believe that the trail was from some point in Texas, as a starting point and thence to Red River, which was once called Colbert Ferry, north of Denison and then on northeast to the old Chickasaw Capitol, now near the town of Caddo in Bryant County, and on or near what is now Eufaula, thence to Ft. Gibson and on through Indian Territory going out of the Indian Territory, what is now Ottawa County, Oklahoma, thence to Baxter Springs, Kansas. As we learn from very reiable sources this was called the *Texas Road* and not the *Chisholm Cattle Trail.*

Other information would lead you to believe the Chisholm Cattle Trail came out of Southern Texas and crossed Red River at what was then called Doan's Store, located on the south bank of Red River, north and a little east of Vernon, Texas, also west


KANSAS
OKLAHOMA
Caldwell, Kansas
R10W
9
8
3
2
RIW
T 28 N.
ALFALFA COUNTY
GRANT COUNTY
KAY COUNTY
Blackwell
Great Salt Plains
SALT FORK OF THE ARKANSAS
Medford
Pond Creek
Jefferson
Cherokee
Tonkawa
Helena
Wagon
Gremlin
MAP OF A
PORTION OF OKLAHOMA
SHOWING THE LOCATION
OF THE
CHISHOLM TRAIL
This map, designating the location of the Chisholm Trail was made by the Engineering Department of the Oklahoma State Highway Commission from information obtained by their engineers, in 1933. Location of the "Trail", with maps and other data, which are filed with the Oklahoma Historical Society, was made under authority of H.B. 149 of the 13th Session of the Oklahoma Legislature
GARFIELD COUNTY
Enid
Ringwood
MAJOR COUNTY
Douglas
NOBLE COUNTY
Perry
Wakkomis
Arkansas City Trail
Buffalo Springs Stage Station
Hennessey
Pat Hennessey was killed here in 1874
TRAIL
Mulhall
Cimarron River
Red Fork Ranch
BLAINE COUNTY
KINGFISHER COUNTY
LOGAN COUNTY
Crescent
Guthrie
Kingfisher
Okarche
Cottonwood
Caddo
Piedmont
STAGE AND CATTLE TRAIL
Edmond
OKLAHOMA COUNTY
Britton
Ft. Reno
El Reno
CANADIAN COUNTY
Yukon
Bethany
Oklahoma City
Union City
Mustang
Moore
Bond Cemetery
Silver City
Tuttle
U.S. HWY 81
U.S. HWY 64
U.S. HWY 77
U.S. HWY 270
U.S. HWY 66
U.S. HWY 62
U.S. HWY 60
U.S. HWY 177
U.S. HWY 81
S.H. 11
S.H. 58
S.H. 38
S.H. 33
S.H. 74
S.H. 41
S.H. 3
S.H. 7
S.H. 4
S.H. 15


CANADIAN COUNTY
Bethany
U.S. #62 & #270
OKLAHOMA CITY
Union City
S.H.#41
Mustang
Moore
CLEVELAND COUNTY
Norman
S.H.#9
Tuttle
Rock Market
Blanchard
Noble
U.S. HWY 77
CADDO COUNTY
Anadarko
Chickasha
Tabler
Walnut Cr.
McCLAIN COUNTY
Purcell
Lexington
Cook Bros. Store
Fred P.O. in 1874
GRADY COUNTY
Cyril
Fletcher
Lindsay
Elgin
Rush Springs
Sterling
COMANCHE COUNTY
CHISHOM
GARVIN COUNTY
Elmore
Marlow
STEPHENS COUNTY
Territory School - Est. in 1890
Duncan
Hulen
Velma
Wildhorse Cr.
MURRAY COUNTY
COTTON COUNTY
U.S. HWY 70
Comanche
Loco
Temple
CARTER COUNTY
Ardmore
Addington
Hastings
Monument Hill
Waurika
JEFFERSON COUNTY
Ringling
Lone Grove
Sugden
Ryan
Grady
LOVE COUNTY
Oscar
RED RIVER
OKLA.
TEXAS
Terral
Fletcher
Red River Station
Land owned by the Lee Crenshaw Heirs
Note X - Indicates where the Trail may be plainly seen (1933)


MAP OF
A PORTION OF OKLAHOMA
SHOWING THE LOCATION
OF THE OLD
TEXAS CATTLE TRAIL
ALSO CALLED
THE WESTERN CATTLE TRAIL
ABILENE & FT. DODGE TRAIL
FT. GRIFFIN - FT DODGE TRAIL
DODGE CITY TRAIL
KANSAS
OKLAHOMA
TEXAS
R28E
R26W
R17W
HARPER COUNTY
WOODWARD COUNTY
ELLIS COUNTY
DEWEY COUNTY
Buffalo
Rosston
Laverne
May
Supply
Woodward
Fargo
Gage
Sharon
Shattuck
Arnett
Vici
Camargo
Leedy
Cedar Springs
Deep Hole Crossing
Dull Knifes Camp Ground
U.S. HIGHWAY 64
U.S. HWY 270
U.S. HIGHWAY 283
S.H. 34
S.H. 15
S. HWY 33
U.S. HIGHWAY 60
Beaver Creek
Cedar Creek
Spring Cr.
Wolf Creek
Buffalo Creek
Buffalo Springs
Fort Supply est 1864
Gyp Hills
Canadian River
Beat Canyon
Indian Territory
Texas Panhandle
Governor's Cattle Trail
Old Texas Trail
Old Fort Supply-Fort Griffin Trail
Old Fort Supply-Fort Griffin Trail Alternate Line
Old Fort Supply-Fort Griffin Trail Alternate Line Spring
Old Fort Supply-Fort Griffin Trail Alternate Line Camp
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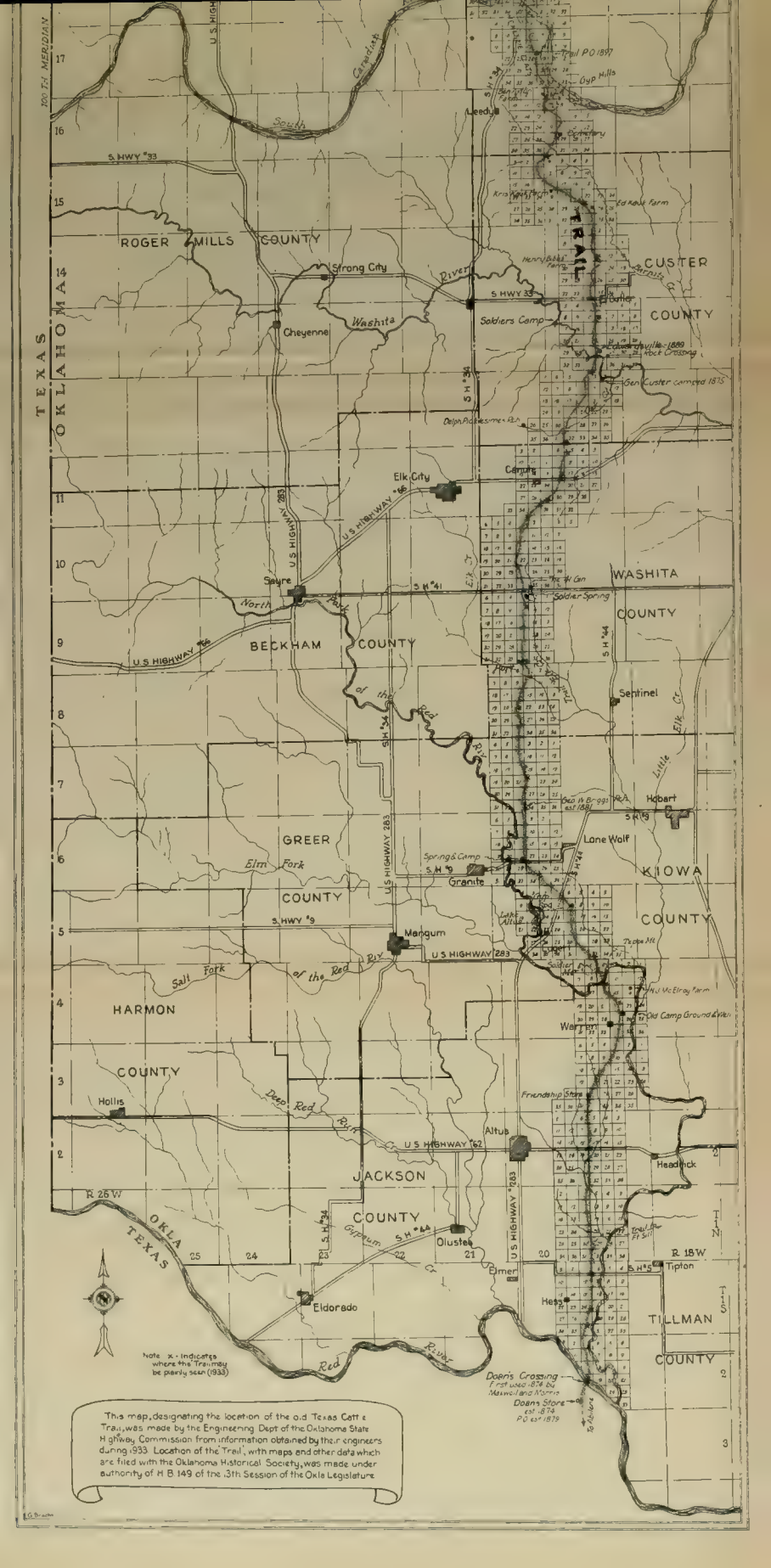
TEXAS
OKLAHOMA
100 TH MERIDIAN
ROGER MILLS COUNTY
BECKHAM COUNTY
GREER COUNTY
HARMON COUNTY
JACKSON COUNTY
WASHITA COUNTY
CUSTER COUNTY
KIOWA COUNTY
TILLMAN COUNTY
Strong City
Cheyenne
Elk City
Sayre
Granite
Mangum
Hollis
Altus
Eldorado
Oluste
Leedey
Camute
Soldiers Camp
Sentinel
Hobart
Lone Wolf
Tipton
Hess
Elmer
Headrick
Doan's Crossing
Doans Store
Trail PO 1897
Gyp Hills
Cemetery
Ed Kelly Farm
Henry Bibles Farm
Butler
Gen Custer camped 1875
Delph Addesmeier Farm
Soldier Spring
Hord
Old Camp Ground & Well
Friendship Store
Trail after Ft Sill
Gypsum Cr
Elm Fork
Salt Fork of the Red R.
Deep Red Run
North Fork of the Red R.
Red River
Washita River
Little Elk Cr
Elk Cr
Turpin Mt
Lake Altus
Spring & Camp
U.S. HIGHWAY 283
U.S. HIGHWAY 66
U.S. HIGHWAY 62
S.H. 34
S.H. 9
S.H. 44
S.H. 5
S HWY 33
R 25 W
R 18 W
T 1 N
T 1 S
OKLA
TEXAS
Note X - indicates where the Trail may be plainly seen (1933)
This map, designating the location of the old Texas Cattle Trail, was made by the Engineering Dept of the Oklahoma State Highway Commission from information obtained by their engineers during 1933. Location of the "Trail", with maps and other data which are filed with the Oklahoma Historical Society, was made under authority of H B 149 of the 13th Session of the Okla Legislature.

and a little south of Frederick, Oklahoma, in Tillman County; thence in a northwesterly direction, through or near Elk City, Oklahoma, now Beckham County, thence on to old Ft. Supply, now in Woodward County; thence on to Dodge City, Kansas. This information is very misleading, this cattle trail from Red River crossing at Doan's Store to Dodge City, Kansas is the *Western Cattle Trail,* and marked on the Texas map as such, by the compliments of Geo. W. Saunders, Livestock Commission Company, (Established in 1886) San Antonio and Ft. Worth, Texas.

The Texas map shows two main cattle trails, known as the Eastern and Western Cattle Trails. The trail from Cameron County was called the Eastern Trail, better known as the Chisholm Trail in old Indian Territory in the early '60 and '70 some herds crossed Red River at Colbert's Ferry below Denison, Texas.

The Chisholm Trail was first traveled by Chas. Goodnight in 1866, he was at that time driving cattle that had been bought from John Chisum of Cook County, Texas.

Jesse Chisholm, a half-breed Cherokee Indian (an Indian trader and not a cattle man) was employed by Joe McCoy, the man who built the stock yards at Abilene, Kansas to blaze a trail from Red River Station, located in Montague County, Texas, to Abilene, Kansas, lots of people are now calling all the cattle trails, the Chisholm Trail, which is not correct. The cattle that went from Red River station to Abilene, Kansas are the only ones that traveled the Chisholm Trail.

Doans crossing was about 120 miles west of Red River station, where the Chisholm Trail started and the same trail was known in Texas as the Eastern Cattle Trail. Dodge City, Kansas was more than 100 miles west of Abilene so it is plain to see that cattle leaving Texas by the way of the Western Trails never touched the Chisholm Trail.

John Chisum, the man who sold cattle to Chas. Goodnight in 1866 and later established a big ranch in New Mexico, which was known as the Jungle Bob Ranch, never was in any way connected with any cattle trail and never drove cattle to the Northern market, but he did sell lots of cattle to trail drivers, that were driving large herds over the Eastern Cattle Trail, in Texas and

the Chisholm Trail from Red River station through Indian Territory going out of Indian Territory at Caldwell, Kansas, and to Abilene, Kansas.

Red River station was located on the south bank of Red River, near the mouth of Salt Creek, there was a comissary, also a large cattle ranch, Charley Quillen, Nocoma, Texas, who is 81 years old and is very well acquainted with the Chisholm Trail, located there, from Red River station to Washita River, just east of the present town of Chickasha. Mr. Quillen lived at Red River station in the years of 1863, 64, 65 and 1866. Mr. Quillen has seen 10,700 head of cattle being driven over the Chisholm Trail, under one brand. However, in three different herds ranging from five to eight miles apart. Mr. Quillen was employed by local cattle men to keep their cattle back off the trail and away from the main herds that were being driven North to market.

The old Chisholm Trail was very plain on the south bank of Red River, just where they came down the steep incline to this very noted crossing in the early days of 1865, crossing Red River, then entering Indian Territory at what is now Section 10, T 8 S, R 6 W, just below the mouth of Fleetwood Branch; thence in a northwestern direction by the old Fleetwood residence, then by the John Trout house and spring, J. R. Estes showed me this trail from Red River to the Trout Spring, W. A. Tindal located the Trout spring. Walker Ryan 77 years old was with me from Red River to five miles east of Sugden, he knows the trail and kept the local cattle back away from the herd from Red River to Monument Hills about the year 1876 to 1879. This old trail was along and just east of what was known then as blue grove, or as we would say now, a black jack grove. Five miles east and one-half mile north of now Sugden, Reid Store was located on a high hill, now in Section 2, T 5 S, R 7 W; thence on towards Monument Hills in a northerly direction. This trail is still plain in the original grass land and marked plain on the map location where visible in Section 14, T 5 S, R 7 W. This trail is located six miles east of Waurika and two and three-fourths miles east of Addington; Monument Hills were located in Section 3, T 3 S, R 7 W, there were two large piles of rocks say ten feet in diameter and twelve feet high supposedly constructed by early cowmen for a land mark. The monuments were about 300 feet part and

were visible for ten to fifteen miles on either side. The cowmen cut their brands on the larger rock in the monuments with their knives and spurs, but in the later years these monuments have been taken down and the rocks carried away. J. L. Keith from Addington, Oklahoma was with me and located the trail from Sugden to two and three-fourths miles east of Comanche, Oklahoma, where it crosses highway No. 53. Then the trail took a northeast course to avoid draws and canyons and kept on high land in most all cases it was on or near the water divide, the high land served for two purposes, better grass and driving as well as protection against the Indians. In Section 24, T 1 S, R 7 W, where the trail was plain on the ground it bore in a northwest direction to the crossing of Cow Creek where old Duncan was located in Section 3, T 1 S, R 7 W, in the year of 1874 by Fitzpatrick who had a ranch there at that time.

M. F. Akers, is 71 years old, and located the old stage road that ran from Ft. Arbuckle Mountains to Ft. Sill and crossed the Chisholm Trail at the old Duncan Store. The present town of Duncan is located two miles west on the main line of the Rock Island Railroad.

Frank Jones, is 74 years old, very active and knows the Chisholm Trail from the Red River Station to Caldwell, Kansas. He has driven herds of cattle over this trail in the years of 1878 to 1886 which was the last trip.

Mr. Jones was with me on the location of the trail from just east of Comanche to Rush Creek south and east of Rush Springs where the country is solid cultivation the trail is very dim and cannot be exactly located only in a general direction. A large portion of this distance was in a sandy hilly country, but Mr. Jones has a wonderful recollection as to the correct location of the trail. About two miles north of Duncan to Marlow the Rock Island Railroad located their line almost on the trail. The trail ran through the east side of now Marlow, then it bore a little east, through the sand hills for about four miles; thence in a northerly direction to the crossing of Rush Creek, 1½ miles east and 2½ miles south of Rush Springs. The trail is plain just north of this creek. The Huntley Ranch was located in the northeast of Section 1, T 3 N, R 7 W, in the year of 1879.

Will Huntley who is 59 years old, and has known the trail since a small boy and helped me locate the trail from Rush Creek to Little Washita River Crossing. The trail is one and one-half miles east of Agawam; thence north and a little east to two miles east of Ninnekah, crossing Little Washita near the center of Section 25, T 6 N, R 7 W; thence bore a little west to miss some heavy black jack ridges on to Cook Brothers Store (P. O. Fred), located by John C. Lewis in the NE¼ of Section 23, T 6 N, R 7 W, at this post office is where the mail route crossed the Chisholm Trail that ran from Pauls Valley to Anadarko. From Cook Brothers Store the trail ran in a northeast course to Rock Crossing of Washita River, located about one-half mile west of the little town of Lucille, thence in a general northern direction on the high land near the water divide, crossing Highway 277 at Section Corners 29, 30, 31 and 32, T 7 N, R 6 W, thence north to one-half mile east of trail; thence north through near the center of Section 35, T 8 N, R 7 W, land now owned by J. L. Jackson; thence in a north and east direction to about one-half mile west of the town of Amber, thence almost paralleling the Frisco Railroad to the East side of Tuttle. Tuttle is where the twelve ton rock boulder marks the old Chisholm Trail. On a bronze plate on the west side of this boulder is this inscription, "1870 this boulder marks the Chisholm Trail—1931, site of Silver City Trading Post, first school and pioneer burying ground, two miles North. Dedicated to Ranchmen, cowboys, early settlers and their descendants. Sponsored by Chickasha Chapter National Society Daughters of the American Revolution." On the East side of this marker there is 112 names of old settlers.

Thence north to old town of Silver City, located on the south bank of the South Canadian River, now in Section 22, T 10 N, R 6 W, the farm now owned by Mrs. Fred Bauman.

F. F. Fryrear, now 67 years old showed me the Chisholm Trail from the Washita River to Silver City. Fryrear and Lawrence Land were employed by local cattle men to keep their cattle back off the trail in the year of 1881 and 1882. Fryrear says eleven men usually considered a standard crew, four men to a shift and one cook, 1 horse wrangler and one foreman.

Mr. H. S. Tennant
Oklahoma State Highway Commission
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Dear Sir:

I will give you the history of the Chisholm Trail as to location and surroundings as it is known to me, having lived near this trail and driven thousands of cattle along same.

The first cattle driven through Oklahoma, came through with Texas men, driven by John Chisholm, Jim Chisholm and various others from Texas, from the ranches of Captain King, Van Wagoner, Shanghi Pierce, George Littlefield, C. C. Slaughter and others. They were driven in South of Ardmore in by old Ft. Arbuckle and on north by Cherokee Town, and Camp Arbuckle, where Jesse Chisholm had a trading post. They often penned the cattle in government stockades at Camp Arbuckle. They drove them across the South Canadian River and drifted northeast through Seminole and Creek Counties to Baxter Springs, Kansas, where they were shipped out. The cowboys were principally Mexicans and they used pack horses and mules to carry provisions and bedding, but later they substituted for ox team and wagons. This was the first trail.

Later these ranchers were having trouble with the Creek and Negro mixed Indians who would stampede the herds, so they moved farther west with the trail. They crossed on the Washita River, by Erin Springs and about four miles west of the town of Purcell on Walnut Creek, crossed the South Canadian near old Choteau Cabin, which is now known as Choteau, then north by the town of Noble, east of Norman, east of the oil fields at Oklahoma City, across the north fork of the Canadian on north to Abilene, Kansas. They used oxen, horses and mules on this trail. After a few years they crossed Red River and establshed Chisholm Trail.

Montford T. Johnson, my father, lived about one half mile from Jesse Chisholm's trading post and was living there at the time of Jesse Chisholm's death. After his death the post was moved eight or ten miles east. His foreman, Phil A. Smith, had charge of his trading post and Richard Cuttle had charge of his teams and would take furs and hides to market and return with

merchandise. He could not get along with Bill Chisholm so he left and came to my father's place, which was called Johnsonville, which was about one mile south of Jesse Chisholm's store and ran the store in Johnsonville, until my father bought out Caddo Bill Williams who had married a Caddo Indian girl. The Caddo Tribe, during the early history lived in Pauls Valley and Caddo Creek, and White Bead Hill, so named for the Chief of the Caddo Tribes. When the government moved the Caddos west and formed a reservation, Caddo Bill Williams, located near this main Chisholm Trail, thinking he was in the Caddo Reservation, but he was two or three miles too far east and was still in the Chickasaw Country. Father traded him out of his location and we moved from Johnsonville to what was later known as Silver City. Bill Smith, Jesse Chisholm and Richard Cuttle moved with us. Father gave an interest in the store at Johnsonville to W. W. Walker who had married Sallie Thomas, an Indian girl whom father had reared. After building a new store they wanted to establish a post office which brought mail from Darlington and Ft. Reno and they named the post office Silver City. This small town consisted of a store, blacksmith shop, and hotel and this constituted the main Chisholm Trail.

There were thousands and thousands of cattle driven over it. There were originally some mounds in establishing this trail from the south. The best information I have is from a friend, Matt Wolfe of Davis, who is now deceased and who married into our tribe. When the first herd was driven over this trail they put up rock monuments at the watering places, so they could be found, if there were no rocks they would make mounds four or five feet high from the dirt to mark out this trail. They had some extra men along who kept the Buffalo drifted out and put up the mounds.

John and Jim Chisholm went practically up the 81 Meridian. The trail had to be shortened and changed in many places, particularly from the Washita to the Canadian. Originally it went in by the head of Walnut Creek and East of Bitter Creek and Salt Fork. The original crossing on the South Canadian River was at the mouth of Boggy Creek. The River was a very narrow and quicky stream and when it was up, we had to swim the herd across. When the river was up, some of the timid cowboys would

STORE AT SILVER CITY
Picture Taken in 1887.

Charley Morrison, in vest.
Walter Harding, in short sleeves.
Boy standing in doorway, H. M. (Bunt) Lindsay, now of Anadarko, Okla.
Man near horse unknown.
Second from horse Lon Gray.
Next unknown.
Walter Morrison.
Boy, John Pinkay.
Bill Nelson, blacksmith.
John Hennessey.
J. D. Lindsay in door.
F. E. Clayton in front of Lindsay.
W. L. Sawyers.

Picture identified by H. M. Lindsay, of Anadarko.

become frightened and the herd would get into a jam. So a new crossing was established and called Bond Crossing. They would go north to Abilene, to Hunnewell and Caldwell the shipping points.

The Chickasaw and Choctaw Council later passed a law to tax the cattle that passed through the Chickasaw Country, about ten cents a head and they hired Dick McLish who was backed by the militia to collect this tax. To avoid this tax so many of them changed the crossing of Red River to Doan's Crossing and drifted northwest through Greer County and back to Abilene and therefore, established another trail. The tax proved to be a failure so they then kept up the main Chisholm Trail.

I think John, Jim and Jesse Chisholm are all entitled to this name and I firmly believe that the main trail should be marked along as far as possible to be established at this time along Highway No. 81.

My father in establishing the first ranch west of Ft. Arbuckle had to work Indians or Negroes, he could not work white men for fear of them being scalped by the Kiowa and Comanche Indians and he had to pen the horses and cattle for a number of years to keep the buffalo from drifting them off.

After the M. K. & T. Railroad was built through the Indian Territory there were a few herds driven across and shipped out on that road, especially from Muskogee. Later they built the Frisco at Red Fork and the Santa Fe at Gainesville but they finally opened Oklahoma for settlement and the Cherokee strip and the building of the Rock Island finally abolished cattle trail driving.

As far as I know now about the various towns, being established in the Indian Territory, which was later Oklahoma, Chisholm Trail passed through the towns of Terrell, Waurika, Addington, Comanche, Duncan, Marlow, Rush Springs, East of Chickasha, West of Amber and Tuttle, which is about two miles from Old Silver City and on up west of Yukon, Piedmont, about six miles east of Kingfisher crossing the Cimarron near the mouth of Kingfisher Creek, east of Dover and west of Hennessey, up the old stage road through Enid, west of Pond Creek and East of Medford to Caldwell and Hunnewell.

I will be very happy to see monuments erected to commemorate this old Chisholm Trail. I have already assisted in putting monuments through Tuttle, which is between the old trail and the new trail. I wish it would be possible to move the body of Jesse Chisholm back into the Chickasaw Country. Although he was part Cherokee, he made his home among the Chickasaws and his son married a Chickasaw girl. He was buried some twenty or twenty-five miles northwest of Ft. Reno, it was his request that he be buried on this Buffalo hunt, among the Buffalo and Indians, who were his friends. He spoke Spanish, Comanche and various other languages.

Yours very truly,
E. B. Johnson
538 Elm Street
Norman, Oklahoma.

Kingfisher, Oklahoma
May 9, 1933

Mr. H. S. Tennant
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Oklahoma State Highway Commission
Dear Sir:

I understand that you are trying to get the location of the old Jesse Chisholm Trail. Sometime ago I met a Mr. Carl Reid who was trying to locate this trail. I went with Mr. Reid to Terral, Oklahoma and showed him where the trail crossed the Red River about eight miles east of Terral. We followed it on up North to Chickasha at which time a storm came up and we had to go in. The storm was so severe we could not do anything more at that time, but afterwards learned through a friend that you were now in charge of this work.

I went to Caldwell some sixty years ago. Caldwell then was a little town, and was located about one mile north of the Oklahoma Territory line on what was then called the Jesse Chisholm Trail. I have seen a great many different articles written about this trail, but the only trail running north and south through what was then called the Indian Territory was this trail. In later years there was another trail what we used to refer to as the Western Trail. That was also the Chisholm Trail, called so

because John Chishom, a big cattle man in Southern Texas, had made a drive through to Dodge City with cattle.

It was never my understanding that Jesse Chisholm was a cattleman. He was a post-trader, half blood Indian. Texas was a cattle country and during the Civil War the cattle had become so numerous in Texas, that they had to find a market for them. The nearest railroad facilities that they had was Abilene, Kansas.

The first cattle driven through from Texas came up the old Jesse Chisholm Trail, crossing the Red River about eight miles east of where Terral is now located. I was very familiar with the trail at that time, having been up and down with cattle and horses for a number of years. The old trail runs through the East part of Caldwell, across Bluff Creek, and what was then known as the Last Chance Ranch, just south and a little east of Caldwell. It runs through what was known as the Pond Creek Ranch, and what was known as the Mallaly Ranch, from there South and a little East to what was called Buffalo Springs, southeast to Hennessey, what is now Hennessey, where Pat Hennessey was killed in '74 by the Indians; South and a little West to what is now Dover; south and a little west to what was called at that time Kingfisher Stage Ranch; South and a little west to what is now known as Okarche, about a mile west of Okarche; South and a little west of what is now Concho, called at that time Caddo Springs; South and a little west to Darlington, which was then a trading post; across the North Canadian at Darlington, and ran through what was afterwards known as Ft. Reno.

The trail turned at Ft. Reno, named Ft. Reno in '74, and ran in a southeasterly course, more east than south, to what is called Silver City. They crossed the South Canadian a little west and north of Silver City. There were thousands of head of cattle driven up that trail in 1873, '74 and '75, and owing to the fact that grass and water were hard to find for so many different herds, and to keep them from getting mixed up, they branched off from the old original Chisholm Trail, just north of the crossing of the South Canadian, north of Silver City and went north just west of what is now known as Yukon; thence north to about six miles east of Kingfisher, where there are a number of small creeks running into the Cimarron from the South, which afforded food and

water for the different herds; but owing to the fact that the country east of what is known as Dover is covered with blackjacks, they drifted back and crossed the Cimarron River to what was known as the mouth of Kingfisher Creek, and back to the old Chisholm Trail again, south and west from Dover.

There they followed the old Chisholm Trail again on up to Caldwell.

There has been a great many different articles written about this Chisholm Trail, and where it runs through what is now Kingfisher County. A great many people, knowing of a Cow Trail running North from Silver City near Yukon, believed that was the old Jesse Chisholm Trail, but that was just where the cowman had left the old Jesse Chisholm Trail to get food and water for their herds, and keep them from getting mixed up, but my understanding was, when I was south with Mr. Carl Reid, that you were wanting to locate the original trail made by Jesse Chisholm, who was not a cowman, but an Indian post-trader, and I believe if you look this route up, which I am giving you, all the old timers will tell you that I am right as to the location of the old trail.

I was a young man 22 years old when I came to Caldwell in '73 and followed the trail business for a number of years, and should know it as well as any other man living today. If this information is of any benefit to you or the State, I am certainly glad to give it.

Yours very truly,
W. D. Fossett.

As I understand from the old timers one crossing of South Canadian River was just east and a little north of Silver City, but in some cases, especially when the river was high, they crossed about one and one-half miles up the river from Silver City, at what was known then as the Bond Crossing when this crossing was used then they drifted the herds back east to the trail.

You will note on the maps I have shown two trails from Silver City to Dover, or the old Red Fork Ranch. From the best information available it is my opinion the trail from Silver City, via Darlington and Kingfisher to Dover, this trail should be called Chisholm Trail and stage road. Then the trail from Silver City

via Yukon crossing the Cimarron River near the mouth of Kingfisher Creek to Doan, this should be called the Chisholm Trail.

Leaving South Canadian River at Silver City, the trail bore a little east of north of the town of Yukon and going out of Yukon on now, North 9th Street, shown to me by Mr. R. M. Fry, who now operates the Hill Crest Filling Station and is 75 years old, thence north and east across the bottom land of North Canadian River, crossing the river now in Section 5, T 12 N., R 5 W. This trail is very plain on the ground in the NE¼ of the above section, following as usual the high land divides in the North and West course, marked on the map plain when so found in a North and West course, the trail is about one mile west of now Piedmont, thence on by and just east of Head School House District No. 5, located in NE¼ of Section 11, T 14 N, R 5 W, thence in a general north direction following the highland divide to near the center Section 15, T 16 N, R 6 W, thence in a northwest direction to the crossing of the Cimarron River just below the mouth of Kingfisher Creek, located in Section 30, T 17 N, R 6 W; thence to now Dover or through the Red Fork Ranch, where the Chisholm Trail intersects the old Government Stage Route, and from this point the trail and old stage route is the same to Caldwell, Kansas, from a point two miles south of Dover to Hennessey, the route is very plain and at several places it is at least one hundred feet wide.

From Dover to Enid the Rock Island Railroad, located their line practically on this old route, for their engineers must have considered this to be the best route.

The Chisholm Trail and state road goes through one and one-half blocks west of the now main North and South Street, also Highway No. 81, of the town of Hennessey. Reliable information says that Pat Hennessey was killed on the trail now in the north west corner of the town of Hennessey in July, 1874. I have two stories of the killing of Pat Hennessey; one by Mrs. Fred Ehler of Hennessey and the other by George Rainey of Enid, Oklahoma. As heretofore stated, the trail is along and paralleling the Rock Island Railroad, also highway No. 81 into Enid, it crosses the railroad from west to east side at the Stock pens on the northeast corner of the town of Waukomis. The Buffalo Springs Stage Station was located just east of the trail and is now near west one-

quarter corner of Section 7, T 20 N., R 6 W., and four miles south of Waukomis, Oklahoma.

From the south side of Kingfisher county, also the south boundary of the old strip, as of September 16, 1893, when opened. Mr. Geo. Rainey, furnished me with old Government information and township plats of 1873, as surveyed by the Government and shows the old trail and stage road when this part of Oklahoma was laid out in sections, Townships and Ranges by the Government and this trail was placed in these township plats at this time. We believe this is the best information available relative to the exact location, through now Garfield and Grant Counties. At this time these two counties are almost a solid cultivation and the trail can only be found in pasture land at times miles apart. Old Skeleton Stage Station, located in now, Section 33, T 23 N, R 6 W; however, the trail goes almost through the center of the city of Enid, just one block east of where the court house was located that was destroyed by fire.

From Enid the trail is about one-half to one mile east of the Rock Island Railroad to two and one-half miles north of Kremlin, then it crosses the railroad going northeast and practically paralleling the railroad to Pond Creek. The trail goes through now the west side of Pond Creek and to the old Sewell Ranch, just south of now Jefferson, Oklahoma; thence bears northeast leaving the railroad east going two and one-fourth miles east of Medford, Oklahoma, crossing some small streams, but generally paralleling the Rock Island Railroad; thence coming back and crosses back to the west side of the railroad in Section 28, T 29 N, R 4 W, plain on the ground in this section; thence northeast and about paralleling the Rock Island Railroad to just south of Oklahoma and Kansas state line, where the trail crosses back to the east side of said railroad to a point about five hundred feet east of now highway No. 81 where it leaves Oklahoma located in now the Northwest corner of Section 14, T 29 N, R 4 W, and enters the State of Kansas. At this point in Kansas the old trail is very plain in a pasture and about one mile south of the noted town of Caldwell.

The herds of cattle on this trail from the years of 1865 to 1887 would vary in number from 3,000 to 10,000 head; however,

when the larger herds were being driven over this trail, they would usually separate the herds in about 2500 to 3000 in a herd, so they could better herd and drive them, both for grass and especially for water. The old time ranchmen and cowmen tell me they would generally start their herds of cattle from different points in Texas in the spring of the year and begin to get to their destination, say Abilene, in the fall. In driving these cattle they would figure making five to ten miles a day with them; however, in those days they had little conception of what a mile was, their general direction was the North Star or some prominent hill, bluff or river, at times they would get five to eight miles off the main trail and then would rely on their best judgment how far and in what direction they could best get to and find the old Chisholm Trail.

It would be out of line for me to undertake to write a history of this noted trail. Good Historians have been writing history about this trail for the past fifty years. History of this trail can be found in almost all of the libraries in Oklahoma. But to say the least, the location of this trail was a wonderful engineering project. It followed the course of least resistance. Engineering equipment of those days, I presume, was a horse and saddle, two guns and plenty of ammunition and their head to guide them.

To verify my location of the Chisholm Trail through Oklahoma, I have taken much care in looking up all men who have worked on the trail or lived near it and consider this is the best information available.

The following is a list of pioneers that I have talked to personally relative to the correct location of the trail.

Charley Quillen	81 years old	Nocoma, Texas
Albert Colbert	78 " "	Terrel, Oklahoma.
J. R. Estes		Fleetwood, "
Walter Ryan	77 " "	Ryan, "
R. L. Gibson		Waurika, "
J. L. Keith		Addington, "
Fred Brown		Comanche, "
Frank Jones	74 " "	Duncan, "
M. F. Akers	71 " "	Marlow, "
Joe Adjins	73 " "	Kiowa, "

W. A. Boggett	81	" "	Rush Springs,"
Geo. Hill	71	" "	" " "
Will Huntley	59	" "	" " "
Thomas Burke	79	" "	Chickasha, "
Joe Lindsay	79	" "	" "
Mrs. A. B. Crouch			Tuttle, Okla.
F. F. Fryrear	67	" "	" "
Mrs. Fred Bauman			Tuttle, "
J. M. Crisp	60	" "	Minco, "
R. M. (Bob) Fry	75	" "	Yukon, "
Howard Pendleton	71	" "	" "
A. M. McMahan	68	" "	Union City, "
Jim McGronahan	88	" "	Piedmont, "
J. C. Richardson	74	" "	" "
Dick Mechin	78	" "	Kingfisher, "
W. D. (Bill) Fossett	82	" "	" "
Chas. Emmerich	79	" "	" "
Anderson King	73	" "	" "
C. L. Jones	48	" "	" "
F. W. Peter	48	" "	" "
Fred Schaelen			" "
Crayton Payne	72	" "	Dover, "
Bill Anderson	80	" "	" "
Mrs. Fred Ehler			Hennessey, "
J. T. Lower	79	" "	Bison, "
Geo. Rainey			Enid, "
James Korzuine	73	" "	Caldwell, Kansas
J. R. Carmon	64	" "	Norman, Oklahoma
E. B. Johnson	70	" "	" "
Henry Meghler	56	" '	El Reno, Oklahoma
Chas. H. Tompkins			" " "
Tom H. Ellison			" " "
C. H. Hunter	72	" "	" " "
Charley Todd	64	" "	" " "
S. V. Wren	61	" "	Waukomis, "
J. B. Thoburn			Oklahoma City, Okla.
John C. Lewis	60	" "	Chickasha, Oklahoma.

MINUTES OF ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

January 23, 1936.

The regular annual meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society convened in the Historical building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, January 23, 1936, at 10:00 A. M., with Judge Thomas H. Doyle, President, presiding.

The Secretary called the roll, which showed the following members present: Judge Thomas A. Edwards, Judge William P. Thompson, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Mrs. Jessie E. Moore, Mr. James H. Gardner, Gen. Charles F. Barrett, Mr. Jasper Sipes, Mrs. Frank Korn, Mr. George H. Evans, Dr. J. B. Thoburn, Gen. R. A. Sneed, Judge Thomas H. Doyle, Col. A. N. Leecraft, Mr. John B. Meserve, Judge R. L. Williams, Dr. E. E. Dale, Mrs. Blanche Lucas, Dr. Grant Foreman, Gen. William S. Key, Judge Harry Campbell, Judge Baxter Taylor, Mrs. John R. Williams, Judge Robert A. Hefner and Dan W. Peery, the Secretary.

The Secretary stated that Mrs. Roberta C. Lawson and Judge Samuel W. Hayes had reported their inability to attend this session, and the Chair ruled that in the absence of any objection the excuses offered were sufficient reasons for their absence.

The Secretary presented the minutes of the meeting of the Board of Directors, held October 24, 1935, and upon motion of Judge Thomas A. Edwards the reading of the minutes was dispensed with at this time.

Judge R. L. Williams, chairman of the committee on prizes offered to senior students in high schools and junior colleges for historical papers, tendered his resignation as a member of this committee, and moved that Dr. E. E. Dale be placed on this committee and that some one from the office of the State Board of Education also be placed on this committee. Judge Robert A. Hefner seconded the motion which was carried.

Mrs. Jessie E. Moore reported that the old council house of the Chickasaws had been moved to the grounds of the Murray School of Agriculture, at Tishomingo, and the work of restoration had been completed.

Judge R. L. Williams moved that the Society have a marker placed on the old Chickasaw council house, showing that the work of restoration had been done by the Oklahoma Historical Society, and that Mrs. Moore be continued on this committee to see that the marker is secured and properly placed. Motion was seconded and carried.

Mr. Jasper Sipes, chairman of the committee to mark the Washington Irving trail requested further time to make a report, which was granted.

Judge William P. Thompson, appointed to secure the debates and the constitution of the Sequoyah convention, requested an extension of time in which to complete his work, which was granted.

Mr. Jasper Sipes, chairman of the committee to secure the portrait of the late R. K. Wooten, reported that the portrait had been secured and is now in the Historical building.

Mrs. John R. Williams, appointd to secure a portrait of the incumbent Governor, reported that Mrs. Blanche Lucas had tendered her picture of the Governor and presented it to the Society.

The Secretary reported that the matter of securing a portrait of the late J. J. Culbertson, Sr., had been taken up with Mrs. J. J. Culbertson and her daughter, Mrs. A. B. Potter, and was assured that a portrait would be donated in due time.

Mrs. John R. Williams, in pursuance to a resolution previously adopted by the Board, reported that one of the Board members, Mrs. Blanche Lucas, had tendered her photograph to the Society.

Judge R. L. Williams moved that the photograph of Mrs. Blanche Lucas be received and framed, and she be thanked for same. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge R. L. Williams moved that all portraits be marked, showing the names of subjects and donors. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge R. L. Williams moved that the Secretary be instructed to secure a bottle of white ink to be kept for autographing photographic portraits. Motion was seconded and carried.

Dr. J. B. Thoburn moved that the art committee be continued and that Judge Robert A. Hefner be added to the committee to take the place of the late W. A. Ledbetter. Motion was seconded and carried.

Mr. John B. Meserve read a letter from Cyrus S. Avery, Director of WPA for District No. 1, in regard to marking the corner where Kansas, Missouri and Oklahoma join, and also discussed the project of marking the point where Oklahoma, Missouri and Arkansas meet.

Judge Harry Campbell moved that the Historical Society co-operate with the WPA Director for Northeastern Oklahoma in regard to marking these corners, and that a committee of three be appointed to carry out this work. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge William P. Thompson moved that this committee be instructed to get in touch with Mr. Avery and ascertain if markers can be erected at these points. Motion was seconded and carried.

The Chair appointed Judge Harry Campbell, Mr. John B. Meserve and Judge William P. Thompson as this committee.

Judge R. L. Williams moved that a committee of five be appointed to mark historic spots, and that one-half of the sum appropriated by the legislature for markers be set aside to be used for this purpose, and that the committee solicit donations for this purpose, and that Gen. William S. Key be requested to take this matter up with the Federal Government, and that the Board act in conjunction with the State University and that Mr. James H. Gardner be chairman of this committee, the committee to be so constituted as to represent the different sections of the state. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge R. L. Williams reported that Mr. John B. Meserve had been working on an article on Coleman Cole and that Peter Hudson had assisted Mr. Meserve in doing research work relative thereto, and moved that Peter Hudson be paid $10.00 out of the private funds of the Society for his expenses. Motion was seconded and carried.

The President asked Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Vice President, to take the chair.

Judge Thomas H. Doyle, pursuant to a resolution of the Board of Directors at the meeting held October 24, 1935, read the opinion of the

Attorney General relative to the salary of the custodian of newspapers and magazines, concluding as follows:

> "It is the opinion of the Attorney General that Section 17, Article 25, schedule to the Constitution, and that part of Section 1, Article 15, Chapter 24, Oklahoma Session Laws of 1935, creating the position of 'custodian for newspapers and magazines' and fixing the salary thereof, makes an appropriation by law to pay the same and that the appropriation made in the general appropriation bill for a lesser amount is ineffective to reduce said salary from $1500.00 to $1200.00. The Attorney General holds that the person holding the position of 'custodian for newspapers and magazines' and performing the services of such position is entitled to be paid at the rate of $1500.00 per annum."

The President then resumed the chair.

Judge R. L. Williams transmitted to the Society a longhand copy of the Creek laws in force prior to 1867 compiled by Chief Sam Checote, and moved that the book be accepted and put in the vault for safe keeping, and that the donor be thanked for this contribution, and that ten photostatic copies be made of same and be retained for use. Motion was seconded and carried.

Dr. J. B. Thoburn discussed the marking of the northwest corner of the state, through the WPA project, and moved that the corner where New Mexico, Texas and Oklahoma join and the point where Oklahoma, Kansas and Colorado meet be marked. Motion was seconded and carried.

Dr. Grant Foreman made his report on the WPA project and moved that the shelving on the landing on the second floor be vacated and the space used for letter press copy books, etc. Motion was seconded and carried.

Dr. Grant Foreman made an additional report on the work he had been doing for the Historical Society and stated that he would be glad to submit a summary of the material collected by him and deposited in the archives of the Society. A discussion followed in which it was suggested that Mr. Foreman prepare a summary of this material and have it included in the forthcoming issue of Chronicles of Oklahoma.

(A summary of the material referred to will be found in the body of Chronicles.)

Dr. Grant Foreman reported on the rebuilding of the old stockade at Fort Gibson, and also on the project of securing the ten acres of ground on which the old home of Sequoyah stands.

Dr. Grant Foreman discussed the land office records in the State Law Library, and moved that the Board of Directors request the Law Library to deposit these records in the Historical building, with the Historical Society as custodian, for safe keeping. Motion was seconded and carried.

Dr. Grant Foreman moved that Mrs. Rella Watts, the archivist, be permitted to take copies of the Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to her home for further study to assist her in her work of indexing and cataloguing the Indian records. Motion was seconded and carried.

Dr. Grant Foreman moved that a directory of the building be prepared and placed in the lobby on the first floor. Motion was seconded and carried.

Mrs. Frank Korn made a report on the room set aside for the various women's organizations.

Dr. Grant Foreman asked to be relieved of further duty on the editorial committee.

Mr. John B. Meserve moved that the Board of Directors unanimously ask Dr. Grant Foreman to withdraw his resignation. Motion was seconded and carried.

Mr. Peery, the Secretary, read a letter from the Chaplain of the U. S. S. Oklahoma, expressing appreciation for the gift of a bound file of Chronicles of Oklahoma for the library of the battleship Oklahoma.

Mrs. John R. Williams presented to the Society for its archives a small picture of the temporary capitol building at Guthrie, the gift of Alfaretta Jennings, which was ordered received, and the donor thanked.

Judge R. L. Williams presented the following resolution in regard to continuation of members of the Board of Directors:

It appearing that no petition was presented and filed with the Secretary to place any names on the ballot to succeed the directors whose terms would expire in January, 1936, to-wit: Judge Thomas A. Edwards, Cordell; Judge William P. Thompson, Oklahoma City; Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Edmond; Mrs. Jessie E. Moore, Wayne; and Mr. James H. Gardner, Tulsa, that they be declared and recorded as having been elected under the terms of the constitution to succeed themselves for another full term, and that they are accordingly declared to have been so elected as members of the Board for such term. And Judge Robert A. Hefner, Sr., having been appointed to succeed Mrs. T. B. Ferguson ad interim, and no petition having been filed to have any name placed on the ballot to be voted on to succeed her, it is hereby recorded that he was elected in accordance with the provisions of the constitution to fill out her term, and he is declared to have been so elected.

Upon motion of Judge R. L. Williams, which was duly seconded, the foregoing resolution was adopted.

The Secretary presented his annual report, which upon motion of Judge R. L. Williams was ordered received and filed.

The Secretary presented the following list of applicants for membership:

LIFE: Minnie Shockley, Alva.

ANNUAL: Mrs. Omer K. Benedict, Tulsa; Dr. Clarence W. Bixler, Erie, Colorado; George Bushyhead, Claremore; O. E. Carter, Oklahoma City; Judge C. C. Chastain, Chickasha; Stanley A. Clark, Oklahoma City; Dr. Royden Dangerfield, Norman; Dr. Marion Donehew, Oklahoma City; R. B. Duckett, Tyrone; Allen Y. Dunn, Reno, Nevada; Clark Field, Tulsa; Hattie French, Oklahoma City; Rosa L. Harris, Claremore; Charles B. Leedy, Arnett; L. T. Low, Ada; S. E. Matthews, Oklahoma City; Mrs. John B. Meserve, Tulsa; Minnie Mae Miller, Tulsa; Cecil Moore, Muskogee; Breck Moss, Oklahoma City; Essie Mae Nall, Alva; Maxine Pickering, Henryetta; Mrs. A. B. Potter, Oklahoma City; Frances Quarles, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Lona Shawver, Oklahoma City; Minor M. Smith, Oklahoma City; and Mrs. G. C. Spillers, Tulsa.

Mrs. Jessie E. Moore presented the name of James W. Moffitt, Shawnee, for annual membership.

Upon motion of Judge Thomas A. Edwards they were all received as members of the Society.

Upon motion the Board of Directors went into executive session.

JUDGE THOMAS H. DOYLE, President,
Presiding.

DAN W. PEERY, Secretary.

WILLIAM HENRY EDLEY

(1860—1935)

Born in Warren County, Kentucky, January 2, 1860. Son of John Edley and Mary Jane (Hays) Edley. His maternal grandfathers were James Hays and John Linn, who were natives of North Carolina and Revolutionary soldiers. His paternal grandfather John Edley, Sr., was a land owner in the Province of Bolnas, Sweden, and traced his ancestors back 400 years, one being an officer under Gustavus Adolphus. One of his father's uncles, on his mother's side, was a member of the Swedish Parliament. One of his mother's uncles, A. B. R. Hays, was a Paymaster General in the Confederate Army. William Edley was educated in private and public schools at Bowling Green, Kentucky, and attended Ogden College in Bowling Green, Kentucky, for four years, which college has since been merged into a state institution. He was also, for a short while, a cadet in the U. S. Military Academy at West Point. At Bowling Green he was chief deputy for the Circuit Court Clerk and an Adjutant in the 3d Kentucky Regiment Infantry, also a bank clerk, and held the office of County Court Clerk of Warren County, Kentucky, for four years. At the time of the erection of the State of Oklahoma he was a resident of Comanche County, being elected as a delegate to the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention in 1906 from the 53d District. He took an active interest in the Farmers Union movement during that period. In 1909 he removed to Wyoming, where later he was appointed by President Wilson as Receiver of Public Moneys and Special Disbursing Agent, holding said position from 1914 to 1922. In June 1899 he married Suzanne White, of Eufaula, Alabama, and after her death in June 1902 he was married to Henrietta Desobry, of Plaquemine, Louisiana. From the latter marriage he had three daughters and four sons.

Mr. Edley came first to Oklahoma in 1891 and later was at the opening of the Cherokee Strip in 1893, and in 1901 was at the opening of the Kiowa, Comanche and Caddo lands. Not succeeding in locating a homestead, he later obtained a lease on school land near Sterling, in Comanche County, which he improved with the expectation of making a permanent home, but later obtained a reclamation irrigated homestead near Powell, Wyoming. Whilst Receiver of Public Moneys in Wyoming he resided at Lander, Wyoming. He was active, not only in the Farm Bureau while he resided in Wyoming, but also in politics as a Democrat. The late John B. Kendricks, U. S. Senator from Wyoming and former Governor of said state, was his political friend.

At the time of his death Mr. Edley lived near Copan, Washington County, Oklahoma, his post office address being Caney, Kansas, Rural Route 2. He was president of the first Association of Farmers on the Shoshone reclamation project of Wyoming. He was an active member of the Episcopal Church, serving as senior warden in Powell, Wyoming. The names of his surviving children are Edward and William, of Plaquemine, Louisiana; Mrs. Gladys Holm, of Greeley, Colorado; Mrs. Jane Lucas, Mary, Phillip and Hayes Edley, of Copan, Oklahoma. He is also survived by one brother Lawrence Edley, of Miami, Florida, and numerous nephews and nieces. Mr. Edley died at 7:30 P. M., Monday, May 27, 1935, at the Memorial Hospital, Bartlesville, Washington County, Oklahoma, and is buried in the Memorial Park Cemetery at said city.

In 1906 Mr. Edley was elected as a delegate from District No. 53 to the Constitutional Convention for the State of Oklahoma and served on the following committees: Executive Department; Immigration; Banks and Banking, Loan, Trust and Guaranty Companies; Insurance; and State Militia. He also presented the following petitions to said convention: Child Labor; Pensioning Firemen; Liquor Traffic; Sale of School Lands. The following propositions for incorporation in the Constitution were introduced by him; to-wit: No. 50, School Lands; 56, State Militia; 57, Commission of Agriculture; 58, Bank Deposits; 346, Salaries of Deceased Officers; 347, Railroad Corporations and 423, Cities of First Class. —R. L. W.

T. O. JAMES

TADDY OWEN JAMES.

(1863—1934)

Born on January 15, 1863, Dodgerville, Wisconsin. Son of Rev. William Eynon James and his wife Hannah Edmund James. Was married to Mary Elizabeth Maughan September 30, 1897. The following children born to them survive, to-wit: William Edmund James and Mrs. Elsie Mae Park (Mrs. C. E. Park), both of whom reside at Des Moines, New Mexico. Taddy Owen James settling in Oklahoma Territory in 1897, acquired what is known as the Davis Ranch, located about eight miles south of where the City of Guymon is now located, it being then in old Beaver County within what was known as "No Man's Land," but now located in Texas County, Oklahoma. About 1922 having disposed of said ranch he removed to a new location near Des Moines, New Mexico. His wife died February 23, 1926, and he died on July 8, 1934. As a Democrat he was elected as a member of the Constitutional Convention of Oklahoma in 1906 from District No. 1, and served on the following committees: Agriculture; Revenue and Taxation; Privileges and Elections; Salaries and Compensation of Public Officers; and State and School Lands, and introduced the following provisions for incorporation in said Constitution: No. 28, relating to Lands for Schools; No. 128, relating to Sale of Indemnity Lands, and No. 353, relating to Control of Eleemosynary Institutions.

—R. L. W.

SILAS MARION RAMSEY

(1845—1935)

Born December 5, 1845, in Lewis County, Missouri, son of Silas Ramsey and his wife Henrietta (Baker) Ramsey. His paternal grand parents were Seth Ramsey and Martha Ramsey, and maternal grand parents were Martin Baker and Hester Baker, all of his grand parents being born in Kentucky. He was educated in the common schools of Lewis County, Missouri and at Monticello High School in said county. During his lifetime he was engaged in farming, living in Lewis County, Missouri, until August 4, 1891, when he located in Pottawatomie County, Oklahoma Territory, at the opening of the Pottawatomie Reservation for settlement on September 22, 1891. He was Register of Deeds for Pottawatomie County from January 1, 1897, to January 1, 1901. He married Mary A. Barkelew on September 13, 1871. He died November 27, 1935, and is buried in Brown Cemetery in Pottawatomie County, Oklahoma, near Tecumseh. The following children survive him: Francis M. Ramsey, Flomot, Texas; Archie B. Ramsey, Quitaque, Texas; and Florence R. Banks, Tecumseh, Oklahoma. He was under sheriff of Pottawatomie County from January 1, 1921, to January 1, 1925. In 1906 he was elected as a Democrat as a delegate from District No. 30 to the Constitutional Convention for the State of Oklahoma, and served on the following committees: Suffrage, General Provisions, Public Debt and Public Works, and Public Health and Sanitation, and during said convention presented the following petitions: relating to Religious Liberty, Woman Suffrage, Liquor Traffic, and Location of Capitol; and by resolution introduced the following provisions to be incorporated in the Constitution: No. 144, relating to veto power; No. 145, relating to Establishing Depots, and No. 247, relating to Dual offices. —R. L. W.

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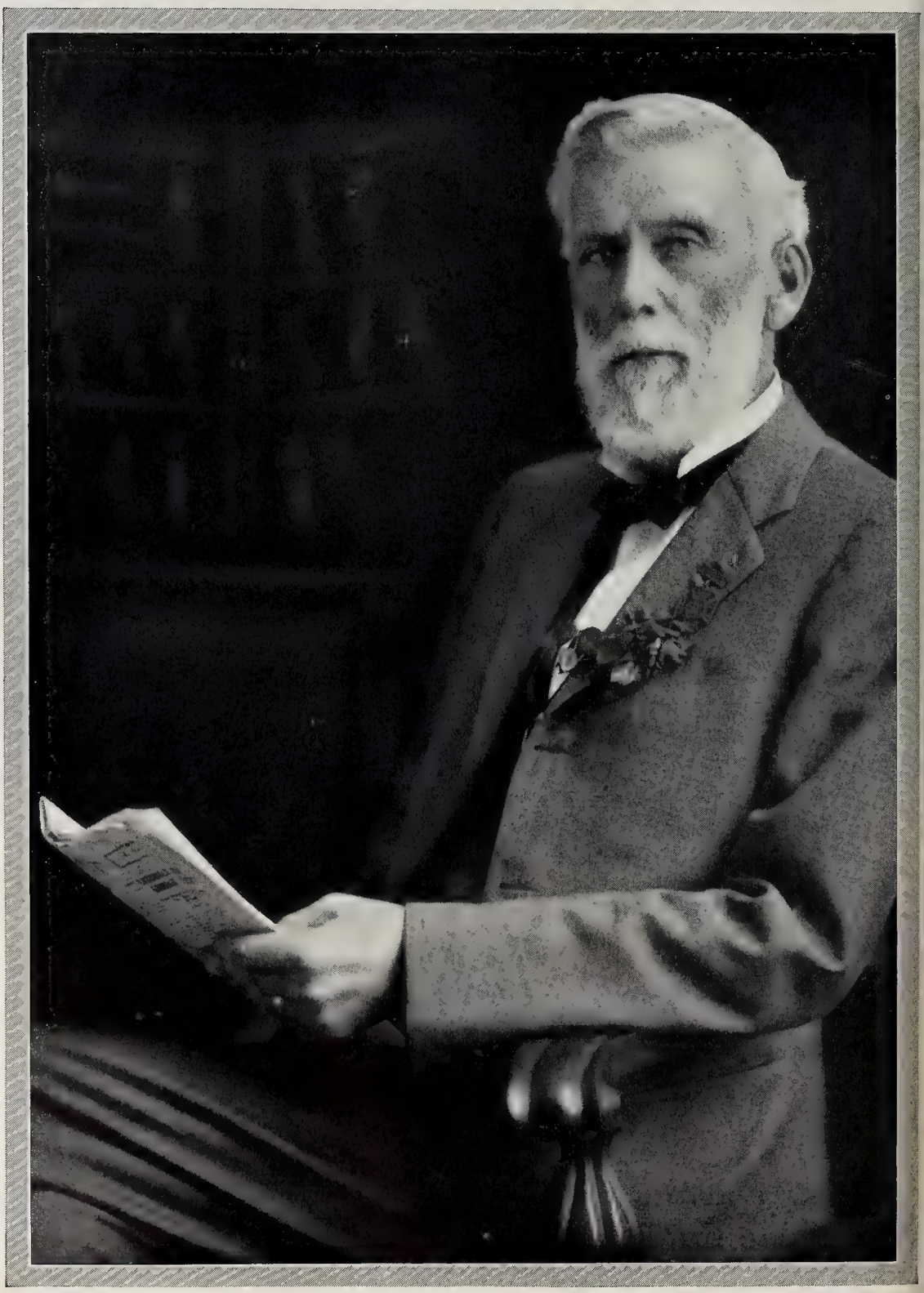

R. A. Speed

Chronicles of Oklahoma

Volume XIV **June, 1936** **Number 2.**

RESOLUTION

The members of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society desire to express their profound grief because of the death of their friend and fellow director, Gen. Richard A. Sneed, who reached the end of a long, honorable and useful life, since the last meeting of the Board. Throughout a period of nearly twenty years of his service as a member of this body, we had the benefit of his presence and association in our meetings and counsels, his unselfish co-operation and helpful advice. After an unusually long life, beautifully lived, and worthy of the highest encomium that could be paid to him as a man, a patriot and a citizen, in a spirit of appreciation we append the valedictory that came from his pen when he retired from public life, a year before his passing.

Baxter Taylor
Charles F. Barrett
Joseph B. Thoburn
William S. Key
Thomas A. Edwards
Committee.

"During the years, I have tried to be a faithful public servant and a friend of the people. I feel that I have succeeded in these efforts, and I retire happy in the consciousness of loyalty to the trust imposed in me. The people of Oklahoma have been kind and considerate and have conferred upon me many honors, for all of which I am more than grateful, and I feel I cannot depart from public life in my adopted state without giving some expression of my gratitude and love to those who have been so good to me.

"To the press of the state I also wish to give expression of my appreciation for continued support of me throughout the years of my public life. I feel it has been largely through the influence

of these friends that I have been able to carry on in my service to my beloved state; and although by reason of my age, my service is now limited, my loyalty and devotion still are hers.

"Oklahoma is my home. Ever since that day fifty years ago when I first saw the sun sinking behind the long line of the beautiful Wichitas, I have known no other. There in the shadows of those same mountains rests the devoted companion who shared with me those happy years, and with the poet I can say:

"'In all my wanderings round this world of care,
In all my griefs—and God has given my share—
I still had hopes, my latest hours to crown,
Amidst these humble bowers to lay me down.'"

THE REMINISCENCES OF AN INDIAN TRADER

By Gen. R. A. Sneed

Editorial Introduction: The following paper was written by the late Gen. R. A. Sneed who was a trader for the Comanche & Kiowa and Prairie Apache tribes at Fort Sill and Anadarko from 1885 to 1890. During that time he made many friends among the people of those three tribes, most of whom remembered him when he came to live in Comanche County in 1901, and, all through his official life in Oklahoma City, he occasionally received visits from some of his old Indian friends.

The following paper was written three years ago for inclusion in a volume of local historical reminiscences published at Lawton. For some reason the copy was not received until too late for its inclusion in that collection, it, therefore, makes its first appearance in print in the quarterly magazine of the Oklahoma Historical Society, of which institution General Sneed was one of the directors until his death March 15, 1936. —J. B. T.

Forty-eight years have passed since I first visited the Comanche and Kiowa country and forty-three years have elapsed since the termination of my first sojourn there. Great changes have marked the intervening era. It is not vouchsafed unto me to live to see that beautiful country as it will appear, forty-three to forty-eight years hence, though some of the people who now read these lines may do so. It was a land that was good to look upon when I first saw it. The Indians loved it then, as their children's children love it still. Of its people, red and white, who were in their prime when I knew them in those days, few now remain and these few will soon be gone. The legendary and traditional lore, the early history, the songs and the stories of the country and its people are of most fascinating interest and are therefore worthy of careful preservation. Once the field of strife and of many warlike scenes it has long been a land of peace. That it may ever remain the abode of a peaceful, happy and prosperous people, is my most fervent wish.

I am asked to write briefly of the years which I lived in the Comanche and Kiowa country, while I was a Government Indian

trader, at Fort Sill, during the period immediately preceding the opening of the first Oklahoma lands to homestead settlement, in 1889. In July, 1885, I was appointed as Agency trader for the Indians of the Comanche, Kiowa and Prairie Apache tribes, with authority to open and maintain two stores or trading establishments—one at the Fort Sill sub-agency and the other at the Agency, then as now located at Anadarko. Hon. J. D. C. Atkins, who had represented my district in Congress (8th Tennessee district) for many years, had been appointed to the office of commissioner of Indian Affairs, by President Cleveland and it was he who tendered me the position as an official trader among the people of these three tribes. In preparation for this undertaking I effected a partnership with Z. T. Collier, of McKenzie, Tennessee, under the firm name of Collier & Sneed.

I am asked to tell something of my early experiences and observations while engaged in this business during the years 1885 to 1887, together with some account of the people, red and white, civilian and military, with whom I came into contact and association during that period. As the experiences of that part of my life come before me in retrospect, I love to live those years over again. True, life under those circumstances was in striking contrast to that of all of my previous life; yet, even so, it is pleasant to recall to memory the scenes and incidents which impressed my mind more or less in detail.

A native of Mississippi, and long a citizen of Tennessee, I remember wondering if I would find life in a prairie country, tolerable, to say nothing of pleasant. Yet, to my astonishment, I found it not merely tolerable but enjoyable. Indeed, there was something about the primitive, unbroken prairie-land that was positively enchanting, and now, from the viewpoint of a life-time twice as long as it then was, I want to say that the four years spent in the old Comanche and Kiowa country were among the happiest and most satisfactory years of my life. Moreover, my relations with the people whom I came to know there, during that period, were generally of the most friendly and neighborly character. It is therefore a real privilege to be permitted to write reminiscently of the people and associations of those days and something of the lives that they lived—for not many of them are now numbered among the living.

I arrived in what is now Comanche County, in October, 1885—forty-eight years ago. At that time, there was but one railway line that ran across the Indian Territory—the Missouri, Kansas & Texas, which passed through Vinita, Muskogee, McAlester and Durant. The town of Caddo, on this line of railway, had formerly been the nearest railway station to Fort Sill, the distance between the two points being 153 miles. There was regular traffic between Caddo and the military point at the eastern base of the Wichita Moutains—a stage line and freighting trians of wagons—until the construction of the Fort Worth and Denver Railway line reached Henrietta, Texas, in 1885, reduced the distance to rail connection to sixty-five miles, so that travel and traffic between the Fort and Caddo station soon ceased.

When I landed at Henrietta, I found that there was a daily stage line between that place and Fort Sill. This stage carried the mail and such passengers as might be going that way, together with light express. The Red River was crossed at Charley Station, about twenty miles out from Henrietta. The river was ordinarily crossed by fording, but when the current reached a flood stage, a small ferry-boat was brought into service. Another station known as "Grogan's" about 15 miles down the river was later chosen by the stage line as the official crossing place, Charley's being abandoned for the purpose. Midway between Red River and the Fort was what was commonly called the Snake Creek Station, it being located where a small stream of that name—a tributary of East Cache Creek—was forded. At the Snake Creek stage stand, I met the first white man that it was my fortune to come to know in the Indian Territory of that day, in the person of W. G. Williams, then better known locally under the cognomen of "Caddo Bill" Williams. He was driving through to Henrietta, accompanied by his wife, who was a member of the Caddo Indian tribe. He had already lived in the Washita Valley, in the Anadarko vicinity, for more than twenty years. He lived many years afterward, dying at his home in El Reno about 1912.

When I came to leave Henrietta by stage, I was surprised and delighted to find that the driver was none other than "Uncle Jeff" Griffith, a native of Lincoln County, Tenneessee, who had been a stage driver throughout his life since his young manhood. He had been driving the stage between Canton, Mississippi, and Yazoo

City when I was but a young boy. He was a man of fine character, gentlemanly demeanor and kindly disposition and was always deservedly popular among his patrons. He had never married. He continued to drive the stage between Henrietta and Fort Sill until the growing infirmities of age led to his retirement. He was a man of sixty-five or seventy, when I met him at Henrietta, the first time. The vehicle which he drove on that road was of a type known as a "mountain wagon," having four springs. It had three seats and was capable of carrying eight or ten passengers. It was usualy drawn by a team of four mules of light or medium weight.

Uncle Jeff was retired as a driver during the time that I was living at the Fort Sill sub-agency, being assigned to keep the stage stand at the Snake Creek Crossing. Though stage stand-keepers, as a rule, did not attract much attention on the part of travelers, Uncle Jeff was an excepton as to this. In his living quarters at Snake Creek, he kept a small "monkey" stove and, always, when the stage was due to arrive, he would have the water boiling hot and ready to make coffee which he gladly gave to all passengers who were invited to enjoy his hospitality. Needless to say, he was not less popular as a stand keeper than he had been as a stage driver. When he finally became too old to serve as a stand keeper, he took up his residence at the ranch home of Cal Suggs, a well known stockman of that region and there the closing years of his life were spent. Though many years have passed since he died, no one who ever knew him has forgotten him and though his place in the world's affairs was an humble one, he dignified it by his manliness and fidelity so that, even if this brief tribute may seem to be a tardy one, it is abundantly justified.

When I first arrived at Fort Sill, I stopped at a small hotel kept by Tolly Maupin, a Missourian. He had been called back to his old home by the illness of a relative, some days before my arrival, and he had left his hostelry in care of some Mexicans. These people baked big soda biscuit, served black coffee (without cream) and fried fresh beef so burned that it tasted bitter.

A day or two after my arrival at the Fort, I went on to the Comanche and Kiowa Agency, at Anadarko, thirty-five miles farther north up the trail. This agency, which was also the loca-

tion of several trading establishments, was situated in the beautiful valley of the Washita River, adjoining the site of the present county-seat of Caddo County, which is still known by the name that had then been recently bestowed upon it—Anadarko. It had been so named out of compliment to the remnant of the Anadarko tribe of Indians, which was closely related to and affiliated with the more numerous and powerful Caddo tribe.

There were four trading establishments at the Agency—Frank Fred, Dudley Brown, Cleveland Brothers, and Reynolds. The license under the new administration and the new firm of Collier & Sneed, of which I was the junior partner, was to take over the establishment thus vacated. (The Cleveland brothers—Charles A. and William H. were preparing to open a new store at Doane's Crossing, on Red River in Texas). In all, there were ten or a dozen families, including those of the agent, physician, clerks, teachers, mechanics, farmers and traders. There were no missonaries there then, but several of them came in within the next few years. There were two Indian schools—the Riverside School, on the north side of the Washita, which was maintained for the children of the Wichita, Caddo and affiliated tribes, and the Kiowa school on the south side, which was maintained for children of the Comanche, Kiowa and Apache tribes. I spent two or three days at the Agency. While there, I made the acquaintance of Lee Hall, then recently of Sherman, Texas. He had just replaced his predecessor, Col. Pleasant B. Hunt. (The latter was from Kentucky, whence he had entered the Federal military service at the outbreak of the War between the States, attaining the grade of colonel before the end of the struggle. A brother of Colonel Hunt who was an officer on the staff of General John H. Morgan of the Confederate Army.)

On my return to Fort Sill, I stayed only a day, or two, going from thence to my home in Tennessee, where I remained during the ensuing winter. Along in the latter part of the winter, (February, 1886), I began to make preparations to move to Fort Sill. Most of the goods for the new store were purchased in St. Louis and Chicago and in Fort Worth. The Indian goods were bought in St. Louis and Chicago. Groceries, meats and provisions, and many other items for the stock were purchased at Fort Worth. The Indians were very fond of fruit, such as prunes, figs, dates, raisins,

etc., and large quantities of these were purchased in nearly every consignment; also the best grade of canned goods.

The first stock of goods was opened out in an old building down near the East Cache Creek, on the bank of that stream. In fact, this structure had been built some years before, the material being what was known in those days as "raw-hide" lumber, i.e., native lumber sawed out of cottonwood logs. This was in March, 1886. At the same time, I was making preparations for the erection of a new building near the old sub-agency and school, two and a half miles south of the military post. This building was occupied when completed, and the stock of good being transferred thither on the 17th of July, following. It was commonly known as the "Red Store." It was two stories high, the upper floor being finished as a residence for my family. The lumber for this structure was hauled from Henrietta, Texas, a distance of sixty-five miles. My family did not join me until November, 1886.

The new business house was thirty-six by seventy feet in dimensions and, even at that, the stock of goods which was installed, used up the floor space to such an extent that only convenient passage ways were left open. The stock included staple and fancy groceries, canned goods, cured meats, etc. Of course the dry goods included robes, blankets, shawls, silk handkerchiefs, red flannels, blue broadcloth, etc. All had to be of the best quality, as the Indians would not buy cheap imitations or goods of inferior material. We also handled high grade saddles and bridles, and all kinds of harness. The hardware was all of good quality though the stock was not a large one. The hardware which was in demand among the Indians was chiefly axes, hatchets, saws, files, etc.; also kettles, frying pans and other cooking utensils, especially coffee pots. Most of the kettles were of the best grade of brassware and were sold at good prices.

One of the main articles of trade was tanned and dressed buckskins of which a large quantity was always carried in stock. This was in keen demand for making moccasins, leggings and clothing. Most of this buckskin was purchased in Chicago. It was listed as "black-tail" buckskin and was assumed to be from the Rocky Mountain country. Practically every Indian had a complete buckskin wardrobe which was kept for ceremonial and state occasions.

One item of hardware that was in more or less constant demand was a type of hatchet which was known as the "hunter's ax." It was of good metal and had a short handle. It was accounted as especially useful in trimming and making teepee poles. These poles were always made of red cedar. The trees from which they were made were always selected in the cedar brakes, in the northern part of the Wichita-Caddo reservation, and were carefully selected, each being tall and straight, with few, if any, large limbs. The Indians used to go in large parties for the purpose of securing pole timber. Only one pole was made from a tree. This necessitated a lot of trimming and shaving, the work being done by the squaws. When the poles were first brought in, they were green and heavy with sap, so that four to six of them were a load for any Indian pony to drag. Securing and bringing in these teepee poles and making them by the laborious methods and means in use among the Indians made them expensive and high-priced. An ordinary family domicile, or lodge, was twelve to fifteen feet high, with poles fifteen to eighteen feet long. Of these, there would be fifteen to eighteen or twenty. Some of the larger lodges, which were used for ceremonial or tribal gatherings, council meetings, etc., were as much as twenty feet high, with poles twenty-four feet in length and as many as thirty in number. These large teepee poles were valued at $4.00 or $5.00 each. When I came among the Indians, the teepees were mostly covered with 12-ounce duck, though some of the smaller lodges used 8-ounce or 10-ounce duck coverings. Down to a dozen years before I went among them, their lodges were covered with buffalo hides, with the flesh side out.

When a band of Indians moved their camp or village, before they began to use wagons, many of their movable belongings were transported in bundles which were fastened between the trailing lodge poles dragged by the ponies. This vehicle was called a "travois," among the northern Indians such as the Sioux. Naturally, a well traveled travois trail soon came to have its paths deeply worn in the soil. In driving across the country with a team and buggy or other light conveyance, if I overtook or passed a travois train, I always turned out of the road and gave it a wide berth, as most horses other than Indian ponies were always easily frightened at the sight of that sort of transportation.

Although my headquarters were at the Fort Sill sub-agency,

I made numerous trips to the other store, at the Agency on the Washita, usually going up once each week. With a team of good horses and a buggy, it ordinarily took three and a half or four hours to make the trip. Once, when there had been some trouble with a Kiowa Indian who rallied a lot of his fellow tribesmen to his support, Webb Hendrix, who was manager of the store at the Agency (a brother-in-law of Mr. Collier, my partner, by the way) sent a telegraphic message to me, reading: "Come at once; important." That time, I made the drive in three hours—a good record, over roads that were none of the best. I seldom made the journey both ways in the same day, usually staying over night and returning the next day.

The Comanche language was not a difficult one to learn and, since it was in reality the court language of the Southern Plains tribes, many Indians of other tribes learned to speak it. Many white men learned to speak Comanche but few could master the Kiowa lingo. While I might have leraned to speak Comanche, I did not do so for it was best for the manager of the trading establishment not to speak or understand the vernacular of his Indian patrons, as, otherwise, they would have monopolized too much of his time holding converse with him. So, when an Indian wanted to talk with me I would answer, "Kay M'swaveti," meaning, "I do not understand." Or, sometimes, I would say, "No hockin," meaning, "I do not know." I did learn the name for money and for prices and for numbers, however, and I had the reputation of being able to sell as many goods as any clerk about the establishment.

The Indian people were remarkable for their truthfulness and honesty. I seldom had occasion to go to their camps to make collections—they always came in and settled their own accounts. Their sense of honor and honesty and their regard for their word when they had made a promise were almost universally above question. If an Indian died owing a debt, his relatives always paid it. The lowering of their morale did not come until the white people came to live among them. They were keen traders and did not hestitate to take advantage of the other party to a deal if opportunity was afforded, but once they gave a promise, its performance was regarded as a sacred obligation. Though they

were unable to read and write, many of them seemed to be skilled in the art of diplomacy.

Of course, most of my personal associations were with the Comanches, though I came to know many of the Kiowas also. Of the Comanches, I recall especially Quanah Parker, the son of Cynthia Ann Parker, a white captive who had been carried away from a Texas pioneer settlement in her childhood. Quanah's father was Pete Nocona, a Comanche war chief. Quanah never recognized the obligations of any treaty between the Comanches and the Government, until after the last Indian war of 1874-5. He was quite a young man at that time. When he surrendered, in June, 1875, it was in good faith and he was ever after a man of peace. He was the leader of the Quahada band. Other leaders included Taba-nannika of the Yampa-rika (root-eater) band; Otter Belt of the Pennataka (Honey eater) band, White Wolf (Quahada), Wild Horse (Mow-way), and several others of minor importance and influence. Among the Kiowa leaders, easily the most prominent at that time was Stumbling Bear, who was the last surviving signer of the Medicine Lodge treaty. He was a man of strong personality and was both popular and influential among his people. He was a man of imposing physique. Other Kiowa chiefs were Big Tree, Sun-Boy, Hunting Horse, White Horse and Apeatone. The latter was a young man who afterward became a very influential leader among the Kiowa.

George Washington, the Caddo head chief, was one of the most noted Indian leaders of his time. He was a man of progressive views, a successful farmer, a keen trader and had an acute sense of humor. Many humorous anecdotes concerning his quaint sayings still circulate in the old Caddo country to this day. He had been the chief of the White Bead, or Indian Territory Caddo, before that band and the Texas band were merged, in the autumn of 1859. These two bands had always maintained a separate existence, though always on friendly terms, frequently visiting each other and with many intermarriages. The two bands had been temporarily separated again during the years of the War between the States, the Texas Caddoes taking refuge on the Arkansas River, in Kansas, while George Washington and the White Bead band remained on the Washita. During the closing years of the War, George Washington and most of the men of his band were induced to form an

organization known as the Caddo Frontier Battalion, a two-company organization of which George Washington was the commander with the rank of major. However, he had entered the service of the Confederate Army in that capacity with the express understanding that under no circumstances should he and his command ever be sent into action against any white troops. Consequently, his battalion was kept on frontier scouting duty as a sort of buffer between the outlying settlements of the Creek and Chickasaw nations and the wild tribes of the Southern Plains region. He built a fine big frame house on his ranch, in the valley of the south Canadian in the northern part of the Caddo Country. He was an extensive farmer, had large herds of cattle and many horses and was said to have been the first to introduce the raising of swine in the Caddo country. The Chisholm trail, from Darlington to Anadarko crossed the Canadian at his ranch, the ford being known as the George Washington crossing.

Traders were allowed to buy corn, yearling cattle, horses or Indian ponies, and hogs, but they were not permitted to run their stock on the Indian reservations. There was generally a local demand for corn but livestock had to be sold elsewhere. I accumulated a drove of 125 head of hogs in the course of my dealings with the Caddoes. Hog raising had been introduced among the Caddo people by their principal chief, George Washington. These hogs were of the type known as the "mule-foot" breed, the animals having a solid, single hoof on each foot, instead of a divided hoof such as those which distinguished practically all other breeds of domestic swine. A few of these were killed and the meat was cured, but most of the drove was sold to Jules Doss, of the Chickasaw Nation. Some of these weighed as much as 250 pounds each and the drove averaged nearly 190 pounds. These hogs were mostly of the unmixed "razor-back" stock. Most of the yearling cattle were sold to some of the cattlemen who held leases in the Comanche-Kiowa reservation—practically all of them to Pres Addington, whose ranges were in the lower Cache Creek country. Indian ponies that were secured in barter with the Indians, were driven to Henrietta, Texas, whence they were shipped in car-load lots to Tennessee. My partner, Mr. Collier, received and disposed of them on their arrival there—they were in keen demand for saddle animals for boys and children.

In and around Anadarko there were a number of white men who had married Indian women. The one who had been longest with the Indians was Dr. J. J. Sturm, who had come to the Washita country with the Texas bands, in the autumn of 1859. His wife was a member of the Anadarko tribe and he had been a Government Agency employe at the Lower Brazos Agency, near Fort Belknap, Texas, for some years before the removal to the Indian Territory. He was fairly well-to-do and was distinguished for his liberality and generosity in the way he treated the Indians. He was personally acquainted with all of them and was very popular and influential among them.

Tom Woodward, was of Quaker extraction and came to the Wichita-Caddo Agency with Agent Lawrie Tatum, in 1869. He marred a Kiowa woman. He was a prominent member of the Agency community before the opening of the Comanche-Kiowa lands and he was recognized as a community leader even after that community was superseded by the municipality of Anadarko in the early years of the 20th Century, serving for years as president of one of the local banks. He had resided at Anadarko for nearly if not quite fifty years at the time of his death, a few years ago.

William G. Williams, a genial Kentuckian, better known as "Caddo Bill" Williams, arrived on the Washita, in what is now Caddo County, in 1859. He was in the employ of the traders during his first years there. During the War between the States he served with George Washington's Caddo Frontier battalion. His wife was a member of the Caddo tribe and he soon embarked in cattle ranching on his own account. He died at El Reno, about 1912.

Another early settler was Jimmie Jones, who married a member of the Kiowa tribe. They reared a large family in their home near Cottonwood Grove, in the vicinity of the present village of Virden.

Joe Leonard was another old timer. He came to Fort Cobb with Gen. William B. Hazen, special Indian Agent for the Government, in the fall of 1868, and lived in that section of the country until his death, about fifty-five years later. His wife was a member of the Caddo tribe.

George Conover, a soldier in the 6th U. S. Infantry, was sta-

tioned at Fort Arbuckle from the time that post was reoccupied by Federal troops, a year or two after the end of the Civil War, and was subsequently stationed at Fort Sill for a time after its establishment, until his discharge, when he entered the service of the Government Agency for the Comanche, Kiowa and Apache Indians. He married the widow Chandler, who was a native of Mexico who had been carried into captivity by the Comanches while she was a child. Conover is still living at Anadarko, having been a resident of the community for over sixty years.

E. L. Clark, commonly called "Doctor" Clark, was an intermarried member of the Comanche tribe. His wife was a daughter of Moxe, who was of mixed Mexican, Spanish and Comanche extraction, and who had saved Clark's life during an Indian War in 1874. The Comanches always called Clark by the name of Nockatoua, meaning "Little Ear." He was native of Missouri and had been a soldier in the Federal Army during the Civil War. He was proverbial for his deliberate slowness of speech and movement.

Emmet Cox, a native of Missouri, whose family had been driven out of that state during the Civil War, seeking refuge in Texas, came among the Comanches in the early 80's. He married a daughter of Quanah Parker. As a man, he was distinguished for his fine sense of honor, honesty and truthfulness. He was especially valued as an interpreter, for this reason, and the Indians respected him and were readily influenced by him.

One of the most notable figures in and around Fort Sill, from the days of its establishment until the final opening of the Comanche-Kiowa reservation was Horace P. Jones, scout and interpreter at the post. He was a native of Missouri and was said to have been a scion of very respectable stock and was reputed to be closely related to the well-known Ewing family of Springfield, prominent in the social register of that state. Just why he abandoned the scenes of his early life and took to the wilderness and its ways was never explained, though it was supposed to have been because of a disappointment in love in his young manhood. At any rate, it seemed that he had become associated with the Caddo Indian Agency about the time of its establishment on the Washita, in 1859. He remained with it in the change from Federal to Confederate relations, in the spring or early summer of 1861 and he

was still employed there at the time of its destruction in the autumn of 1862, when he narrowly escaped with his life. From that time on until the end of the War, he was in Texas.

When Fort Arbuckle was reoccupied by troops of the Regular Army, a year or more after the end of that conflict, he showed up there and was given employment because of his ability as a scout and interpreter where his services were regarded as indispensable, there and later, at Fort Sill, until his death, several months after the opening of that country to white settlement, in August, 1901. He was a man of few words and he had the most scrupulous regard for the truth. For this reason, he gained the absolute confidence of the Indians, who were always willing to trust him as an interpreter. It was noticeable, too, that army officers, many of whom were sticklers for lines of social distinction, always treated him as a social equal—a mark of respect which was not accorded to many of the civilian scouts who were attached to the military service. Stories of Horace P. Jones—Colonel Jones, as he was popularly known—deserve to have an enduring place in the traditions of Fort Sill.

There had been another rather notable scout stationed at Fort Sill and who was still living on the occasion of my visit there, in the autumn of 1885, but who met his death by freezing while serving as a courier between that post and Henrietta, in the great blizzard of January, 1886. This was Phil McKusker, who had been discharged from the Army at the end of his term of enlistment, a few months before the end of the War between the States. He had remained on the Texas frontier where he was serving when discharged. He was reputed to have been one of the captains of the Caddo Frontier Battalion under the command of Major George Washington, the Caddo chief, and, like Horace Jones, drifted into scout service with the regular army, after the end of the War. He was said to have been a dare-devil in disposition and had many friends though he was never able to command the confidence and respect of either the Indians or the Army officers that Horace P. Jones did. He was said to have been a native of Scotland, though comparatively nothing is known as to his antecedents.

Another rather noted scout who was stationed at Fort Sill, though not so continuously nor so long as the others, was Jack Stilwell, who had had a rather picturesquely romantic career. He

left the service, however, to become a lawyer, after the settlement of Oklahoma and was located at El Reno for a number of years. For several years he served as police judge of that city. He died at the home of Colonel William F. Cody ("Buffalo Bill") at North Platte, Nebraska, about thirty years ago.

The garrison at Fort Sill, like those of other Government military posts, was changed at intervals of not less than once each three years. Throughout its earlier history, it was strongly garrisoned, with from four to eight companies, with both infantry and cavalry troops in its composition. At the time I was there, the garrison consisted of detachments of several companies each from the 7th Cavalry, Custer's famous command, and the 13th Infantry.

During the residence of my family and myself at Fort Sill, it was our pleasure to meet and mingle with many of the army officers stationed at the post and to find some delightful friendships among them and the members of their respective families.

In the course of time I became quite well acquainted with some of the officers of the garrison at Fort Sill, mostly those who had been in the service since the days of the War between the States. Of these one of the most notable was Col. Edward P. Pearson. He had enlisted in the 17th Infantry at the outbreak of that conflict but was promoted from the ranks within a few weeks, and was promoted to the grade of captain in 1862. He reached the rank of major in 1881 and was promoted to the lieutenant colonelcy of the 24th Infantry in 1886. (The enlisted personnel of the 24th has always been composed of negroes but the officers were and are white men.)

Captain T. A. Baldwin of the 7th Cavalry was stationed at Fort Sill when I first went there and was promoted to the grade of major in that same noted regiment in 1887. He had entered the Regular Army from the volunteer service, at the end of the Civil War, in 1865-6. He was promoted to higher grades afterward, being retired with the rank of major general, a few years after the Spanish-American War.

Captain J. W. Clous was a native of Germany, who had entered the service of the 9th Infantry, in 1857. He was promoted from the ranks and given a lieutenant's commission in the 6th

Infantry, in 1862. He became a captain in the 38th Infantry in 1867 and was transferred to 24th Infantry in 1869. He was promoted to the rank of major in 1886, while stationed at Fort Sill, and was assigned to duty in the Judge Advocate General's department.

Captain Alfred C. Markley enlisted in the volunteer military service from Pennsylvania, in 1861, and was later commissioned from the ranks. He became a lieutenant of the 41st Infantry in 1866 and was transferred to the 24th Infantry in 1869, reaching the rank of captain, ten years later. He subsequently reached all of the higher regimental grades.

Captain B. L. Guthrie, a native of Ohio, had entered the Federal military as an enlisted man in the 1st Kentucky Infantry, where he was promoted from the ranks. He was commissioned to a lieutenancy in the 13th U. S. Infantry in 1866, and reached the grade of Captain in 1882. He was promoted to the grade of major and assigned to the 15th Infantry, in 1898 and died in January, 1900.

One of the finest officers stationed at Fort Sill while I was there was Major George A. Purington, of the 3rd Cavalry. He entered the military service as 1st sergeant in the 19th Ohio Infantry, in April, 1861. Four months later, he was commissioned to a captaincy in the 2d Ohio Cavalry, in which organization his service was sufficiently distinguished to enable him to reach the grade of lieutenant colonel, in July, 1863. He was brevetted colonel, at the end of the war. He was commissoned captain of the 9th cavalry at its organization, in 1866, promoted to major of the 3d Cavalry, in 1883 and to lieutenant colonel of the same regiment in 1892. He was retired from the active service in 1895 and died less than a year later. Major Purington and his family were especial friends of my family and we frequently visited each other. His son, George A. Purington, Jr. was a mischievous scamp of about thirteen when I first went there, in 1886. He entered the military service as a second lieutenant of the 2d U. S. Volunteer Engineers, in 1898, and was promoted one grade before being mustered out of the service in 1899. He then enlisted in the 47th U. S. Infantry (volunteers) for service in the Phillippines, rising through the grades from private to first sergeant, in the course of two months,

when he was commissioned a second lieutenant in the 6th Cavalry, and was promoted one grade in less than six months. He became a captain in 1911 and served as a major and lieutenant colonel during the World War. He reached the rank of lieutenant colonel in 1920, was shortly afterward transferred to the quartermaster general's department and, a month later, was placed on the retired list for disability incurred in line of duty. He died within the last two or three years.

One of the most distinguished officers who was stationed at Fort Sill while I was there was Captain Charles King, of the 5th Cavalry. He was retired later because of physical disabilities incurred in one of the campaigns against the Apaches, in Arizona. Thereafter he became best known as a writer of military fiction, having a considerable number of Army novels to his credit. He returned to active service as a brigadier general of volunteers for a brief time during the War with Spain.

Lieutenant Hugh L. Scott, of the 7th Cavalry, was one of the younger officers, having graduated from West Point in 1876. He had been commissioned to another regiment but, when the news of the loss by death of so many officers of the Seventh Cavalry in the battle of the Little Big Horn was received, he immediately applied for a transfer to that noted organization, which was granted. He joined that regiment a few weeks later when it was reorganized at Fort Lincoln, Dakota. He then began to cultivate the acquaintance of the Indian prisoners, soon won their confidence, gained their friendship and learned their sign language. Down through the years, he became a most valuable officer. After his troop was stationed at Fort Sill, a troop of Indian Scouts was recruited among the warriors of the Comanche and Kiowa tribes and was attached to the 7th, with Lieutenant Scott as troop commander. Through this medium, he became very influential among the people of those tribes, who hold him in peculiar respect and veneration to this day. He became noted as a peacemaker and was often sent by the Government far from his regular station to talk malcontent tribesmen out of the notion of resorting to hostilities. He served with conspicuous ability and valor during the Philippine campaigns. He reached the grade of brigadier general about the time that Woodrow Wilson was inaugurated and was appointed chief of the General Staff of the Army, shortly afterward. He was

retired from active service a few months after the United States became involved in the World War. He has long been a member of the U. S. Board of Indian Commissioners and, since his retirement from the military service, has had an extended and useful career as chairman of the State Highway Commission of New Jersey.

Assistant Surgeon Marcus E. Taylor, was the medical officer stationed at Fort Sill while I was there. He was our family physician during that time. A native of Mississippi, he had been commissioned from that State to the Army Medical Service, in 1875. He was placed on the retired list in 1894 and died in 1896.

Post Quartermaster Sergeant John C. Hewitt had been at Fort Sill for many years. He and his wife became very close friends of my family. He died at Santiago, Cuba, December 29, 1898, while on duty at that place. His remains were laid to rest in the National Cemetery at Arlington, Virginia. His daughter, Hope, then a little slip of a girl, is the wife of Judge Frank M. Bailey, of Chickasha.

The big stone school building, which had been erected for the benefit of Comanche children, in 1870-71, had long been in disuse, though it could have readily been made habitable again. It was still standing when I visited the sub-agency, in October, 1885, but it was destroyed by fire between that time and my arrival there again, in March, 1886. The Riverside School, across the river from Anadarko, was in operation, but the Kiowa School, near the Agency, on the south side of the Washita, had been destroyed by fire some time previous to my first visit there. Lewis Hornbeck, a recent arrival from Missouri, was the superintendent of the Riverside School, which was maintained for the benefit of the children of the Wichita, Caddo and affiliated Indian tribes. Mr. Hornbeck engaged in the newspaper business at Minco, after leaving the Indian School Service, in 1889. He was the editor and publisher of the Minco Minstrel for many years and was regarded as one of the ablest and brightest editorial writers in the two territories during the 90's.

Without official permission range cattle interests began to move in and occupy portions of the Comanche and Kiowa Indian reservation, within two or three years before my arrival in that country. These were virtually invited to bring their cattle into

the Indian country by the Indians themselves. The Indians were compensated by direct payments of money for range rent by the cattlemen. This was known as a "brush-payment" because the transaction took place at a point distant from the Agency or sub-agency and without official cognizance or participation. Among the ranchmen who took cattle on the reservation at that time were the Addington brothers, Pres and Zach; the Suggs brothers, Cal and Ickard; S. Burke Burnett, Herring & Stinson and Dan and Tom Wagoner. (Of these men, Tom Wagoner, now a resident of Fort Worth, is the only survivor of this group of cattle ranchmen who held cattle in the Comanche and Kiowa reservation fifty years ago.) In 1886, the Interior Department took official notice of such occupancy, formulated rules for leasing the ranges and, thereafter, all matters pertaining to grass or pasture leases passed through the hands of the Government Agency, at Anadarko.

The rent for this grazing land was called "Grass Money" and was paid to the Indians twice yearly, being equally apportioned among them by the Indian Agent. That was one time a large family was counted an asset, as the head of the family got all the money and did with it as he pleased. These semi-annual "pay-days" were the important events of the year and the Indians dated other happenings from them so many days before or so many days after payday.

Besides the "grass money" the Indians were issued supplies twice a month from the Government Commissary. Although not such big events as the pay-days, these issue days provided plenty of interest to keep the life of the Red Man from becoming too monotonous. The most exciting feature of the day was when the beeves were issued. The tribe was divided into groups and to each group was assigned a beef. (Each Issue Day.) The steers were penned in a big corral and the braves sat on horses outside, with their Winchesters resting across their saddle horn. When the big gate was opened and a steer came bolting out, they all started after in hot pursuit, thus reproducing to some extent the thrill of the old buffalo hunting days. When a bullet from one of the Winchesters had brought the quarry to earth, the squaws of that warriors group immediately appeared to "do the dirty work" of skinning and dressing the carcass. A most remarkable feature of this custom was that there was never any dispute as to the division of labor on

the beef after it was cut up. There was perfect understanding among the members of the tribe as to whose was what. The meat was cut into strips and hung from poles, where it soon became hard and dry, but never the less, the favorite fare of the red man. Also one reason for their splendid teeth.

Shortly after my arrival at the Fort Sill Sub-agency, I met a young special agent or inspector of the Indian Bureau, by the name of J. George Wright. He seemed to have considerable ground to cover but usually visited the Agency at Anadarko and the sub-agency at Fort Sill at stated intervals. How long he had held that position before my arrival there, I do not know, but I understood that he had been there often enough so that he was generally known and respected; it was generally understood that he was devoted to his work, was very efficient and thoroughly incorruptable. No change in the political complexion of any national administration seemed to affect his status. He was plainly too valuable a man to be spared. Years afterward, when Oklahoma became well settled, Inspector J. George Wright was still a fixture in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Finally, many years ago, he was sent as superintendent of the Osage Agency, at Pawhuska, where he continued to render efficient and honest service until arbitrarily retired for age, within very recent years. If all of the Indian Service officials had been of the stamp of J. George Wright, the history of the affairs of the American Indians during the past half century would have been much more creditable than it is.

Rev. J. J. Methvin, a Methodist missionary, came from Georgia to Anadarko, in 1887. He had previously been superintendent of the New Hope School for Choctaw girls, in the present LeFore County, near Skullyville. The Baptist and Presbyterian mission stations at Anadarko were not established until several years later and the Catholic mission still later. Mr. Methvin gained great influence among the Indians because of his sincerity, honesty and unvarying kindness. Indeed, they became so attached to him that they adopted him as a member of the Kiowa tribe and saw to it that he received an allotment of 160 acres of land.

When my family came out, in the fall of 1886, two of our old servants—a cook and a nurse—came along. In 1887, when I had been to St. Louis and Chicago to buy goods, I took a trip around

by my home at Jackson, Tennessee, for a brief visit. When I left there on my return to the West, William Davis, a young negro, accompanied me. He had worked for me at various times before and was industrious and trustworthy, so I offered him employment around the store at the Fort Sill sub-agency. Of course the trip west was a great event in his life as he never traveled very much. After we had crossed Red River and the road led out across the unbroken prairie, I noticed that he appeared to be greatly interested in all that he saw. Finally, I asked him what he thought of the country, whereupon he said:

"Mr. Sneed, who cleared all this land? It sure must have been during slavery times—there hain't no stumps. It look like old fields that's been long turn out."

The fact is that, though he was thirty-five years old, he had never before seen prairie lands, so he supposed that it had once been covered with timber.

Texas ranchmen used to bring watermelons from south of Red River by the wagon load, to the Agency and to Fort Sill. I used to buy many of them but was never over-stocked. The Indians were as fond of melons as negroes possibly could be. One time, when an Indian payment was under way, I bought 1300 water melons, all of which I sold, mostly to the Indians, though some were sold to white people. Wild game was still plentiful. Deer and antelope were abundant. Feathered game, especially wild turkeys, prairie chickens and quail fairly swarmed. The Indians would not eat anything that had feathers or scales or fins but all was game to them that had its skin covered with hair. Beef from the Agency issue pen, of course, was their staple meat diet but it was varied with the venison of deer and antelope, as well as the flesh of smaller game animals. If a horse was accidently injured or disabled, it was killed and skinned and its flesh was accounted a great delicacy. But all of the Indians of the Southern Plains region were deeply prejudiced against eating the flesh of birds. They would kill wild turkeys and bring them to the agencies, forts and trading establishments to trade or to sell to white men, whom they doubtless despised for eating the same. Turkeys, prairie chickens and quail were all accounted cowardly, hence it was "bad medicine" to eat their flesh. At first, they did not care for pork, so

they used to throw away dry salt pork when it was issued to them but they subsequently overcame that dislike. Of fish, they knew nothing and consequently they paid no attention thereto.

Thus briefly have I tried to tell of the Comanche and Kiowa country, and especially of the settlements at and surrounding Fort Sill and Anadarko, as I found and came to know the same, nearly half a century ago. It has been a pleasure to live over again in retrospect the life of those years and the pleasant memories with which they were filled. While I have enjoyed telling of some of these people as I knew them—white and Indian, civilian and military, frontiersmen and trader—the limited space available for such a reminiscent paper imposes limitations which I would gladly overstep if I could, for there were others who were deserving of notice.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE TO OKLAHOMA

By Muriel H. Wright

Oklahoma is the youngest commonwealth in the Federal Union. The western part of the state was organized as a federal territory in 1890; the eastern part, excepting the extreme northeastern corner, remained under the ownership and governments of the Five Civilized Tribes. Seventeen years later, these regions were united under the name "Oklahoma" and admitted as the 46th State. However, organization of government and development of Christian civilization began within its borders over a century ago, forming a background of culture and advancement in its history that still plays a part in the making of the spirit of the commonwealth.

One interpretation that may be given the term "history" is the story of the formation of nationalities. A nationality is found where a people has become homogeneous in background and vision—that is when united in culture and spirit. In the development of a distinct nationality in the American Republic of the United States, the Indian people have had a great part. This is particularly true in the development of this State, for the story of Oklahoma centers around the story of the Red Man—the Indian or Amerind.

The name "Oklahoma" itself means "Red People" in the Choctaw language.[1] This name was first suggested by a Choctaw, Reverend Allen Wright, in 1866, as that of a federal territory of the Indian people to be organized within the present borders of the state excepting the Panhandle. All the Indian nations and tribes within these borders were to have a part in this territory under a general plan providing that "the United States Superintendent of Indian Affairs shall be the Executive of said Territory, with the title of Governor of the Territory of Oklahoma." Thus, it is seen the name "Oklahoma Territory" literally meant in the Choctaw language "Indian Territory."[1] While a territory of the

[1]In the Choctaw language, *okla* means "people;" *homma* or *humma* means "red." The English word *Indian* is "Okla Homma" in Choctaw. In their treaties with the United States, the Choctaws were spoken of as either "The Choctaw Nation of Indians" or "The Choctaw Nation of Red People," the last phrase in each instance being rendered "Okla Homma" in the native language.

Indian people was never officially organized, the name "Oklahoma," however, became popularly known and was applied to the central portion of this country and was chosen as that of Oklahoma Territory in 1890.

The name "Indian Territory" was suggested for the original Indian country by Reverend Isaac McCoy, the early day Baptist missionary, who did much toward helping the United States solve the intricate puzzle including verbal promises, treaty stipulations and fair treatment of the Indian people in the 1830's. Another name suggested by Reverend McCoy for this country, planned as the final home of many Indian nations and tribes, was "*Aboriginia.*"[2] However, the name "Indian Territory" was retained, though the region was never regularly organized as a federal territory. Instead, what is now Oklahoma (excepting the Panhandle and the northeastern corner) was divided among five large tribes of the South, living east of the Mississippi River, the first assignment of land having been made the Choctaws in 1820, who acted under the leadership of their noted chief, Pushmataha. These five tribes were in the order of the treaties with the United States, providing for their final removal and settlement in the Indian Territory as nations,—Choctaw, Creek, Seminole, Cherokee and Chickasaw. In this same period, the Quapaws and the Mixed Band of Senecas and Shawnees were located on small reservations in the northeastern corner of present Oklahoma.

In the 106 years since that time, other Indian tribes have been settled within the boundaries of the present state, so that one-third of the total Indian population of the United States lives in Oklahoma today. Twenty-nine Indian tribes with their associated tribes are listed under the jurisdiction of seven U. S. Indian agencies in the state. More than fifty separate nations and tribes are represented among Oklahoma's citizens of Indian descent, each nation or tribe having had at one time its own language and customs. Other citizens of the State are from many foreign countries, though the American colonial stock predominates, giving the State a cosmopolitan population. To these people, the Indians of Oklahoma gave up their last home in America and shared with them the land.

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[2]The original Indian Territory in 1832 was the region extending from the Plate River (Nebraska) south to Red River and lying between the western boundaries of Missouri and Arkansas and the Mexican boundary.

Of the five tribes from the Southeast in 1830, the Cherokees were considered the fartherest advanced, with a large mixed blood population of English and Scotch descent. For some years, the leading Cherokee families had educated their children according to standards of the time. Their government had been recently organized under a constitution. Sequoyah had already invented his alphabet for the Cherokee language. The Choctaws and Chickasaws had also given up many of their ancient customs, were fostering written laws and the education of their children. The Creeks and Seminoles were very conservative but they were brave people, capable of establishing themselves in their new country as independent nations.

All of the five nations, generally known in Oklahoma history as the Five Civilized Tribes, endured great suffering and deprivation on the journey west. For some years after their arrival in this country, the Creeks and Seminoles were subjected to continued hardship. After several years, even these nations secured better conditions and established peaceful national governments. The Cherokees and the Choctaws together with the Chickasaws were the first to set up constitutional governments in their respective countries,—governments republican in form yet in many instances with their new laws based on ancient tribal laws, thus preserving ancient national, Indian characteristics.

The Christian religion generally predominated through cooperation between the Indian leaders and the missionaries who were living and working in the nations. Education and the establishment of good schools were fostered. Commerce and agriculture thrived along the larger river systems,—the Arkansas, the Canadian and the Red rivers. Printing presses were set up. Newspapers, periodicals and books were written and published both in the native and the English languages. Scholarly attainment was greatly desired. Thus, Christian civilization was merged with the old tribal cultures in many instances, producing brilliant Indian leaders.

Among the prominent citizens of the Cherokee Nation, 100 to 75 years ago were Elias Boudinot, editor of the Cherokee Phoenix, first Indian newspaper; Sequoyah, a chief and the inventor of the Cherokee alphabet; John Ross, statesman and principal chief for

forty years; Rev. Stephen Foreman, graduate of Princeton College, collaborator in translating the Bible into Cherokee; William Shorey Coody, author of the Cherokee constitution; Rev. Dennis Bushyhead, well known Cherokee minister of the Baptist denomination; Brigadier-General Stand Watie, statesman and military commander. Their influence produced such leaders as William Penn Adair and Elias C. Boudinot whose writings are found among Government documents that brought about the final creation of the State of Oklahoma. Then there was the great Cherokee poet, John Rollin Ridge.

Among the Choctaws, this Indian civilization and culture were fostered by such leaders as Robert M. Jones, pre-eminently the business man and wealthiest planter in this section of the Southwest; also fostered by Cornelius McCurtain, Thompson McKinney, Forbis and Basil LeFlore, Peter P. Pitchlynn, Tandy Walker, Rev. Israel Folsom and Sampson Folsom, all outstanding for their personality and character. Among the young men who grew up under their influence, were Jonathan Dwight and Joseph Dukes, teachers and translators; Allen Wright, a graduate of Union College, the Choctaw scholar, a minister, statesman, educator, translator and writer; Joseph P. Folsom, a graduate of Dartmouth College, who compiled the Choctaw law book of 1869. Among the older leaders of the Chickasaws were the wealthy planters and statesmen, Pitman Colbert and Benjamin Love. Among the young men was Holmes Colbert who attended Union College and later wrote the constitution of the Chickasaw Nation.

When the governments of the nations in the last Indian Territory—the eastern part of present Oklahoma—were dissolved just before statehood in 1907, these Indian nations furnished educated and experienced citizens who took an active part in the founding of our state institutions and have continued in the upbuilding of Oklahoma. Some of them have passed on leaving their people to take a respected and important place in the advancement of the State.

Included among the names of leaders of Indian descent within our borders since 1890, are Robert L. Owens, Cherokee, one of the first United States senators from Oklahoma; Charles D. Carter, Chickasaw, twenty years representative to Congress from the Third

District; W. W. Hastings, Cherokee, representative to Congress from the Second District, from 1907-34 with the exception of one term; Alexander Posey, Creek, noted poet and editor; B. N. O. Walker, Wyandot, author of Indian legends; Houston B. Teehee, Cherokee, attorney and one time register of the U. S. Treasury; Gabe Parker, Choctaw, member of the Constitutional Convention, a designer of the Great Seal of Oklahoma; Dr. E. N. Wright, Choctaw, gifted physician and surgeon, a progressive leader and organizer for the welfare of the Indian people; Reverend Frank Hall Wright, Choctaw, a talented singer, well known evangelist among the Plains Indians and throughout the South and Middle West; Dr. Fred Clinton, Creek, physician and oil man; Douglas H. Johnston, Chickasaw, thirty-seven years governor of his nation; Delos K. Lone Wolf, Kiowa, recently elected chief of the three important tribes of Southwestern Oklahoma,—Kiowa, Comanche and Apache; Fred Lookout, for many years elected chief of the Osages.

Outstanding among women of Indian descent in Oklahoma is Mrs. Roberta C. Lawson, Delaware, president of the National Federation of Women's Clubs. Among other names of leading Indian women of the State are Rachel Caroline Eaton, Cherokee, educator and writer; Minta Foreman, Cherokee (granddaughter of Rev. Stephen Foreman), educator; Mrs. Jessie E. Moore, Chickasaw, first woman elected to a major state office (Clerk of the Supreme Court); Mrs. Czarina C. Conlan, Choctaw-Chickasaw, supervisor of the museum of the State Historical Society for nineteen years; Mrs. W. B. McAlester and Mrs. Alice McCurtain Scott, Choctaw, club women, civic and social workers; Dr. Anna Lewis, Choctaw, head of the department of history, Oklahoma College for Women, writer; Mrs. Maude Davis Jones, Seminole, interpreter, genealogist and writer; Tess Mobley, Chickasaw, singer; and the late Mrs. Jane Austen McCurtain, Choctaw, who may be counted one of the first women influential as a political leader in Southeastern Oklahoma many years before suffrage for women.

Again among the names of Oklahoma Indians who have achieved national and international fame in the field of letters and art are the late Will Rogers, Cherokee; Lynn Riggs, Cherokee, said by a well known critic to be one of the four great dramatists of the day; John Joseph Matthews, Osage, author, whose book "Wah Kon Tah", acclaimed the "good earth" of America, was

the selection of the Book-of-the-Month Club; John Oskinson, Cherokee, novelist; Todd Downing, Choctaw, brilliant writer of detective stories.

Among famous Indian artists known internationally are the five Kiowas—Tsatoke, Hokeah, Asah, Smokey and Mopope. A limited edition of a portfolio containing thirty paintings by these artists, published in France in 1929, is today a rare volume depicting the art of the Kiowas, one of the great tribes of the Plains. Acee Blue Eagle, Pawnee-Creek, has won high rank as an Indian artist. A young man of presence and personality, he is also known for his lectures on art of the American Indian.

Today the future of the Oklahoma Indian is in education and in the continued progress of Christian civilization, together with the preservation of the best in native traditions and customs that produced strong leaders and a great art. It is through such forces as these that the Indian has contributed and will continue to contribute to real American culture which will flourish and blossom for ages to come.

EARLY ADVANCEMENT AMONG THE FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES

By Edward Davis,
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The Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek and Seminole Indians are known as the Five Civilized Tribes. According to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1932, we have 317,234 Indians in the United States. Of the above Indians, 72,634, after excluding whites and Negroes enrolled as members of the tribes, were members of the five tribes. This shows that approximately 22.5 percent of the Indians of the United States are members of these tribes.[1] The fact that five tribes, rated as civilized, constitute such a large portion of the Indians of the United States invites a study of the civilizing influences which raised the standard of culture of these Indians, and enabled them to maintain their numbers while many other tribes formerly strong became miserable remnants of their former selves.

The Southern Indians were far advanced in civilization prior to the time of their first contact with the whites. Their economy was based on agriculture, and corn constituted the chief food in their diet. In addition, they raised pumpkins, several vareities of beans, squash, artichokes and tobacco. They utilized the wild fruits of the forest, and made oil for cooking from acorns and hickory nuts. They fished and hunted to secure their meat and fat for cooking, while bear, deer, beaver, otter, and other skins constituted most of the sources of their bedding, carpets, and clothing. As soon as white contacts were made with them, they adopted many of the white customs and methods and made quick adjustments to them. This ability to adjust themselves to competitive society was of immense benefit when the frontiersmen began to press heavily upon them.[2]

Four influences seemed to have predominated in the transformation of these Southern Indians. One influence was the whites who infiltrated into the Indian country, became members of the

[1]Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Report*, 1932, pp. 32-33.
[2]Williams, *Adair's History of the Indians*, 432-480.

tribes, intermarried with them and came to exert a large influence in Indian life and government. A second force for regeneration was the United States government which through its Indian agents, trading stations, and protection by the United States soldiers exerted a salutary influence on the tribes. The missionaries were a third influence which induced the Indians to accept, at least in part, Christian ideals and customs for the more repulsive primitive Indian customs. Finally the Indians themselves definitely accepted the white man's civilization and government in order to compete with the white civilization and combat the pressure of the States about them.

The first white man to come in contact with the Southern Indians was De Soto in his expedition 1539-1541. The Spaniards did not immediately follow this expedition up with further explorations of settlements. The French who settled Biloxi, Mobile, and New Orleans had considerable contact with the Choctaws and Creeks. They incurred the enmity of the Chickasaws and were never able to win their friendship. A French mission existed among the Choctaws for some time in the early part of the 18th century but with little evidence of converting the Indians to Catholicism or of permanent results. Christian Priber, a French Jesuit, was among the Cherokees from 1736 to about 1745. He seems to have taught many Bible stories to the Cherokees and laid a foundation of knowledge that the Protestant missionaries built upon when they came to the Nation about 1800. Many French intermarried among the Choctaws and Creeks. Greenwood LeFlore, Chief of the Choctaws at the time of removal, was the son of a French father. Alexander McGillivray, Chief of the Creeks during Washington's administration, was the son of a French-Creek mother.[3]

In the English colonies the Germans and particularly the Scotch or Scotch Irish usually occupied the frontier positions and often served as traders in the Indian trade. Such men naturally formed marriage alliances with the Indian women and came to reside in the Indian country. The Revolutionary war gave an

[3]Malone, *The Chickasaw Nation*, 33-35; Williams, *Adair's History of the American Indians*, 86n, 252, 277, 305, 379 and 481; Debo, *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic*, 26-29 and 38-45; Walker, Robert Sparks, *Torchlights of the Cherokees*, 2, and 5-6; Meserve, John Bartlett, "*The McIntoshes*," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, X, 310-325.

added impetus for white men to press into the Indian country. These men were often Tories and sometimes caused friction between the Indians and the United States. They often came from families of wealth and culture. They took their slaves with them and set up farms in the Indian country. The sons of these pioneers were educated in the States. After the Creek War 1813-1814 and Jackson's attack on the foreign traders in Florida in 1817, they supported the United States more loyally and came to exert a wholesome influence in Indian culture and government. Their homes and farms were, whether intentional or not, models of excellence for the Indians to copy and their home methods tended gradually to be absorbed by the Indians. The tribes, from about 1810 until the time the removals to the west were completed, were controlled in a large measure by these mixed blood Indians.[4]

The early Indian policy of the United States, strangely enough, was stated by George II, King of England, in a proclamation of October 7, 1763. In this proclamation the Indians' right of occupancy were recognized over their hunting grounds and they were not to be molested in that possession. Subjects of Great Britian were to remove from recognized Indian lands and to refrain from future settlements. The right of purchase of Indian lands was reserved to the government and private parties were forbidden to make such purchases. The right to trade with the Indians was strictly limited to persons licensed by government officials.[5]

The Congress under the Articles of Confederation followed the lines of the Proclamation of King George and in a Chickasaw treaty of 1786 with the United States, certain specified lands were guaranteed to the Indians, white intruders were to be removed therefrom, the Indians, pledged themselves to trade only with traders licensed by the United States government, and both sides pledged themselves not to injure the innocent of the other by retaliation. The United States made treaties with the Cherokees in 1785 and the Choctaws in 1786 in which like terms were made.[6]

The white settlers continued to press on to Indian lands and

[4]Pickett, Albert James, *History of Alabama*, II, 134-136; *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, II, 278-279; *Missionary Herald*, May 1822, Vol. 18, p. 152.

[5]Commager, *Documents of American History*, 47-50; Johnson vs. McIntosh," 8 *Wheaton*, 543-605.

[6]Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, II, 8-18.

new treaties were soon made in which the Indians were forced to cede additional lands. A topic common to most of these treaties of the 1790's was the insertion of clauses regulating horse stealing between whites and Indians along the frontier. The Indians except the Choctaws had been friends of the English during the Revolutionary War. They had foraged along the frontier and obtained a supply of livestock. They learned to conserve and propagate these horses, cattle and other livestock. These stock, increased by many introduced by the whites, served to lift the level of the Indian life. The food supply of the Indians was increased and horses were beginning to be used for plowing to replace the crude hand methods of earlier days. As beneficial as the acquisition of livestock was to the Indians, horse stealing was one of the very surest means of friction between the white frontiersmen and the Indians. The Indian agents made strenuous attempts to repress horse stealing. Benjamin Hawkins, the United States Agent to the Creeks, required horses offered for sale in the Creek country to be registered. Soon the conditions improved and less and less friction arose from horse stealing.[7]

The Creek Treaty of August 7, 1790 pledged the Creek tribe to restore to the troops of the United States such whites or Negroes as they might have in their possession. The treaty of June 19, 1796 added property taken from citizens of the United States to the list. The treaty of January 8, 1821 specified that the Creeks should pay to the State of Georgia in five annual installments the value of property taken before 1802 provided that the five payments should not exceed $250,000.00. Undoubtedly the Creeks were held responsible for Negroes who fled through the Creek Nation and into the Seminole country. This led to much later controversy. At the time of the Seminole removal, the Creeks and other tribes assisted the United States in despoiling them of their Negroes. Although many of such slaves were the legitimate property of citizens of the United States, the matter became a racket in which

[7]Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties,* II, 27, 31, 24, 54; Governor Blount to Henry Knox, Secretary of War, Knoxville, May 5, 1792, *American State Papers,* Indian Affairs, I, 265 and 382-383; and W. C. Claibourne to Henry Dearborn, Secretary of War, April 8, 1802, Rowland, Dunbar, *Mississippi Territorial Archives,* I, 405-406.

Indians and whites participated. This matter delayed and sorely complicated the Seminole removal and advancement problem.[8]

The Indian agents, blacksmiths, and interpreters did fine work for a number of years inducing the Indians to use horse culture, to raise more livestock, to change communal cultivation for individual fields, and to induce the Indian men to do a greater portion of the work in cultivating the fields. They showed the Indians how to care for, protect, and increase their livestock. They taught the Indians to plant and care for many varieties of fruit instead of depending on the wild fruits as they had formerly done. In the way of home conveniences they taught the Indian men to manufacture spinning wheels, looms, and like devices for the making of cloth in the homes. Many of these tools and articles were introduced and soon the primitive Indian clothing gave way, almost entirely, to civilized dress.[9]

The traders from the Spanish territory in their trade relations with the Southern Indians were a source of much trouble to the United States. They plied the Indians with whisky and drove hard bargains with their drunken customers. They, further, incited the Indians to hostilities against the United States. These conditons were aggravated by the Seminoles who were in the Spanish territory and freely harbored slaves fleeing from the adjoining states. Alexander McGillivray, Chief of the Creeks during Washington's first administration, was in league with the traders and benefited by the trade. He played British, Spanish and Americans off against each other and was under the pay of each. Such situations were very detrimental to our relations with the Indian tribes.[10]

Congress under the Articles of Confederation had already evolved a plan that aided materially in combatting the menace of the foreign traders. The government established trading houses with goods owned by it. These goods could be provided to the Indians cheaper than those from Pensacola. Not only was whiskey prohibited in their trading but they cooperated in keeping it from

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[8]Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, II, 26, 48, 196, and 204; Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier* 159-162; Foreman, *Indian Removal*, Chapters 27 and 28.

[9]*American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 647-648 and 840.

[10]Pickett, *Alabama*, II, 136-144; *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 458; and Foreman, Carolyn Thomas, "Alexander McGillivray, Emperor of the Creek's," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, VII, 106-120.

the Indians. Between 1795 and 1810 fourteen such stations were established with four of them among the five tribes. The Coleraine station was first established on the St. Mary's River in Georgia in 1795. This station was moved to the Oconee in 1797 and again to Fort Hawkins on the Okmulgee in 1806. Tellico Station was established in the Southwest Territory in 1795. A station was founded at Fort Stephens on the Mobile River in 1802. Still another was established at Chickasaw Bluffs, now Memphis, on the Mississippi River in Tennessee in 1802. These trading stations were well distributed and did much to break the power of the Spanish and Britsh in these tribes. Their goods were cheaper than their competitors. They sought to cooperate with the Indian agents in introducing plants, animals, farm tools, and home utensils among the Indians. When the system was discontinued in 1822, it was found that the stations had been operated at a financial loss to the federal government. They should be given, however, much credit for the forward progress of the Indians."

These earlier treaties of the five tribes with the United States provided the tribes with blacksmiths and interpreters. The Cherokee treaty of February 27, 1819, provided for a tract of land 12 miles square to be set aside as a school fund. The lands were sold by the United States and the proceeds invested as Cherokee school fund. The Choctaw treaty of 1820 likewise provided 54 sections of land for sale and investment as a school fund. In 1825, the United States, in addition, made permanent a Choctaw annuity of $6000 which they had been using for schools. Then under the treaty of September 27, 1830, provision was made for the education of 20 Choctaw youths annually for twenty years. The Creek treaty of November 15, 1827 provided for $10,000 for education and $5,000 for relief. The sum of $5,000 was to be spent for Creek youths at "Choctaw Academy in Kentucky," $2,000 at two schools in Creek Nation and $3,000 for mills, cards, and wheels. The Chickasaw Treaty of May 24, 1834 likewise provided $3,000 yearly for 15 years for the education of Chickasaw youths in the states. The Cherokee treaty of December 29, 1835 set aside $50,000 for a fund for education and care of orphans and $200,000 in addition to existing school funds for a permanent school fund. These il-

"Rowland, *Mississippi Archives*, I, 416-418; Wm. H. Crawford, Secretary of War, "Report to Congress March 3, 1816," *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, 11, 26-28; Hamilton, Peter, J. *Colonial Mobile*, 376-377.

lustrate the beginnings of the school funds and of aid to education on the part of these tribes.[12]

As a forerunner of an active missionary effort among the Indians, the Moravians were the first Protestant denomination to establish a school among these tribes. This school was opened at Spring Place, Georgia in 1801. Soon after this they established four stations among the Chickasaws.[13]

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, a cooperative board of Presbyterian and Congregational churches, was next in this field. The Indians had requested schools and not churches. This Board therefore placed its major emphasis upon schools, but was mildly evangelistic from the beginning.[14] The missionaries established Brainard Mission which gave the name to Missionary Ridge near present Chattanooga, Tennessee in January 1817. The next year they established Eliott Mission on the Yalobusha River in Northern Mississippi. This station was on the border between the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations. These institutions aimed to give the Indian chldren training in agriculture, in mechanics, and in household arts. The missionaries worked side by side with their charges in the school homes, shops, and farms. The younger Indians progressed rapidly and soon acquired facility in the English language and in various arts. The adult Indians copied the clothing, houses and agriculture of the mission stations. The stations thus became, in a sense, experiment farms for the Indian tribes.[15]

These first American Board stations were followed by others. In 1828 there were seven mission stations and 34 workers among the Cherokees and nine stations and 34 workers among the Choctaws and one station among the Chickasaws.[16] This Board soon began the evangelization of the Indians. Many prominent Cherokees were converted and became members of Churches established in that

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[12]Kappler, *Indian Affairs Laws and Treaties*, 86, 177-179, 193, 212, 315 and 443-444; *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, II, 187-189 and 275-276.

[13]*Missionary Herald*, XXIV, 4.

[14]Schwartz, Mrs. Morris, *A History of Education Among the Cherokees*, 31.

[15]Eaton, R. C., *John Ross and the Cherokee Indians*, 18-19; *Missionary Herald* XXIV, 353-354.

[16]*Missionary Herald* XXIV, 353-354.

Nation. Evangelization was slow, at first, in the Choctaw Nation but some definite progress was made.[17]

The Baptist and Methodist Churches entered the field of missions to these Indians somewhat later than the Moravians, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists. The Baptists established one school among the Creeks in 1823 and two school among the Cherokees soon after. The Methodists had one school among the Creeks and four missionaries among the Cherokees in 1828. The active work of these two Churches was in camp meetings and in evangelistic effort. The more prominent mixed blood Indians often allied themselves with the Churches, and hastened the adoption of Christian ideals.[18]

A Baptist school of great importance in the education of these Indians was the Choctaw Academy located near Great Crossing, Kentucky. Colonel Richard Mentor Johnson founded the school in 1825 for Choctaw boys. Colonel Johnson was a member of the United States Senate when the school was founded and became Vice President of the United States in 1837. The first term opened with 21 Choctaw boys and Rev. Thomas Henderson in charge. The next year more Choctaw boys attended and in addition 13 Creek boys entered. In 1834, there were 62 Choctaw, 15 Cherokee, 8 Seminole and 14 Creek boys in attendance. A few months later 11 Chickasaw boys entered. This made a representation from each of the five tribes. The Chiefs of the tribes seem to have picked the boys from the leading families. They went back to their tribes and became tribal or district leaders. After the tribes were removed to the West, they ceased to patronize a school so far from their homes and it ceased operation about 1845. It had, in the twenty years of its existence, been a tremendous influence in Indian education and training.[19]

The three factors treated above constitute a great source of Indian advancement. The Indians themselves tremendously furthered the objectives of these benefactors when they began to choose the "white man's road" of their own volition. The Cherokees met

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[17]Walker, *Torchlights to the Cherokees*, 41-185; and Debo, The Choctaw Republic, 41-45.

[18]*Missionary Herald*, XXV, 15 and 121-124; 21 *Congress*, 1 *session.*, "Senate Report," No. 30, pp. 11-14; and Debo, *The Choctaw Republic*, p. 45.

[19]Foreman, Caroline Thomas, "The Choctaw Academy" *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, VI, 453-480; IX, 382-411; and X, 77-114.

in 1808 with all the 7 clans present and passed an act of oblivion for past offenses and renounced future retaliation. After this date only horse thieves might be killed without trial and a provision was made for trials for them. Regulating companies were organized to enforce the law and punish horse thieves and murderers and to probate estates.[20]

The Cherokee legislation was amplified in 1810. The accidental killing of Indians was not to be punished. The murderer was to be punished although he might be the brother of the deceased. This law as the previous one left the thief of a horse at the mercy of the owner of the horse, and the murderer of the horse thief should not be punished.[21]

A very distinct step forward was made in an act of the Cherokee Council of October 24, 1820. This act organized the Cherokee Nation into eight court districts and provided for a system of district and appellate courts and for district Councils. Each district was to have one Judge and a Marshal. A circuit Judge was provided for each two districts. A company of light horse police was provided to accompany judges and punish offenders. A council house was established in each district and Councils met in the spring and fall. The act provided for the collection of debts. A ranger was created to take up stray horses and if possible find their owners. A rigid system of permits to traders and white laborers was provided for in October of 1819. The occupation taxes arising from the law of 1819 were used in defraying the cost of the courts.[22]

The Choctaws soon made some notable attempts to discard their ancient customs and adopt the white civilization. As an example, a particularly repulsive burial custom of placing their dead on scaffolds and later removing the bones and placing them in a bonehouse was changed about 1800 to burial with poles about the grave. They held celebrations and "pulled" or lifted the poles out of the ground. From about 1820 to 1830 they discarded this ceremony and adopted a from of Christian burial.[23]

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[20]Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians*, 41-42.

[21]Morse, *Report to the Secretary of War*, pp. 176-179.

[22]Morse, *Report to the Secretary of War*, 1822, pp. appendix 173-176.

[23]Swanton, John R., *Source Material for the Social and Ceremonial Life of the Choctaws*, 170-194; and Cushman, *History of the Indians*, 237-238.

This striving for advancement is shown in a letter written by Oboho Kulla Humma, a fulblood Choctaw District Chief, to Cyrus Kingsbury in October 1822. The Chief explained that the previous year his district had passed laws for the prevention of infanticide, introducing whisky, stealing hogs or cattle, or running away with another man's wife. He then made a very touching appeal to the American Board to send missionaries to organize a school in his district. He asserted that the above laws had been passed in order that the Indians might follow in the ways of the white man. He pleaded for schools and education to supplement this work of legislation.[24]

The Northeastern District of the Choctaw Nation in October 1821, created a system of Light Horse Police. These were to have charge of the execution of criminal laws and the collection of debts. The Light Horse apprehended criminals, tried the cases and on conviction, executed the sentences. This system was quickly extended to other districts of the Nation. Greenwood LeFlore became District Chief in 1824. Under his influence and that of David Folsom and Peter P. Pitchlynn, the Choctaws made great strides in the abolition of primitive practices as witchcraft and blood revenge. Soon the Choctaws modified their district organizations and adopted a system of tribal legislation, tribal chiefs, and a code of written laws.[25]

The Chickasaw movements have not been treated at very great length. An investigation of 1830 showed them to have a set of laws which promoted peace and good order among themselves.[26]

The Cherokees had been among the first to accept the white standards. They still continued to advance. In 1821 Sequoyah invented the Cherokee alphabet. In 1826, a national newspaper, the Cherokee Phoenix was founded. This paper was printed in both English and Cherokee for the greater part of the time until about 1900. Then in July, 1827 the Cherokee Council met and formulated a Constitution for the tribe. This tribe now had a

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[24]Cushman, *History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw and Natches Indians*, 150-151.

[25]Claibourne, *Mississippi as a Province, Territory and State*, 518; and Debo, *The Rise of the Choctaw Republic*, 43-50.

[26]21 *Cong.* 1 *sess.*, "Senate Report No. 30." pp. 6-8.

Constitution and laws very similar to that of the states about them.[27]

The Chickasaw, Choctaw and Cherokee tribes had adopted laws and governments patterned after the whites. The Creeks had progressed in agriculture and made some progress in the acceptance of Christianity. The Seminoles had been so much involved in wars and contests that they had made the least progress. This start toward civilization would probably have become greater had not the removal problem intervened. This problem served to embitter the Indians and stay the progress. Even though the educating influences were not given time to work out their logical conclusion a foundation for civilization had been laid that has later proved of immeasurable worth to the tribes.

[27]Starr, *Early History of the Cherokees;* 61-88, and 235-251.

THE UNION PACIFIC, SOUTHERN BRANCH

By James D. Morrison

In the West the boom of railroad construction which followed the Civil War was merely the continuation of that activity which had for its object a rail connection between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Coast. The name of any railroad company, which happened to be laying its rails in the general direction of the setting sun, was, west of the Mississippi, very likely to end in the words "and Pacific." It is not generally known that the original name of the first railroad to put iron on the soil of what is now the state of Oklahoma was "Union Pacific, Southern Branch;" or that the original charter and land grant to the railroad now known as the Missouri-Kansas-Texas was made to men who were interested in the Union Pacific.

Even before the Civil War at least one route had been proposed to cross the Indian country;[1] and it was natural that one of the feeder lines proposed for sustaining the Union Pacific should be a direct line from the Gulf, through Texas, and across the Indian Territory. Since the acquisition of Texas and the consequent Mexican War, the national government in Washington had felt that a rail connection with Texas across the country of the five tribes would be highly desirable; and that it might be possible to build the proposed road along such a route that it would be a chain connecting the frontier forts of the Southwest which had been established to aid in controlling the Indians.[2] In line with this idea the act of Congress which made the land grant to the Union Pacific, Southern Branch, stated that the road should be built from the edge of the Fort Riley military reservation in Kansas down the valleys of the Grand and Arkansas Rivers via Fort Gibson to Fort Smith.[3]

There were advantages apparent other than that of facilitating the movement of troops through the Indian country.[4] The mail service would be made more efficient. The North and East would be connected more directly with Texas and the Southwest. The

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[1]Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma*, I, 429.
[2]*Ibid*, 430 and 478. *Historic Denison*, January 1, 1929, 2.
[3]Thoburn, *Op. Cit.*, I, 429.
[4]Thoburn, and Wright, *Oklahoma—A History of the State and Its People, II*, 478.

North wished to have the Southwestern and Mexican markets closer at hand and to have easier access to the cattle, hides, and cotton which the Southwest exported. The pioneer farmers along the Kansas border of the Cherokee Nation perceived another advantage which was not officially recognized, although many individuals in office must have known what these farmers were thinking: this last advantage is mentionad by Beadle in his volume *The Undeveloped West.*[5] Attempts to settle in the Indian country had been made by white men even at this time, especially in the Cherokee Outlet, and these early Boomers felt that the construction of the railroad would afford an entering wedge into the Indian land for the white man. The attitude of the typical southern Kansas farmer was expressed by one of them at the time that the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas was in course of construction. This man held that the Indian land had been placed there by the Lord for the purpose of being cultivated and improved; and, since the Indians were not cultivating and improving it, "why damn 'em, the Government ought to let them have it that will do it!"[6]

The Indians naturally opposed the entrance of railroads into their country, though not very actively, for they realized that it was the beginning of a flood of white invasion which they could not hope to oppose successfully.[7] Each of the treaties of 1866 had contained a provision that the construction of one north-south and one east-west railroad would be allowed;[8] and the Five Tribes found themselves in the position of conquered nations which must agree to whatever the conqueror demanded. The fear of the Indians, that railroad construction was the beginning of the end for them as semi-independent nations, was justified when Congress made a land grant to each of two railroad companies, the Union Pacific, Southern Branch, and the Atlantic and Pacific, which were to construct lines through the Indian Territory. The land under the provisions of the grant was to go to the railroads *when the Indian title was extinguished.*[9] This could only mean that the officials of the Government already envisioned the Indian Territory, supposedly

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[5]Beadle, *The Undeveloped West,* 462.

[6]*Ibid.*

[7]*Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* No. 104, 1871, pp. 566-7.

[8]Dale and Rader, *Readings in Oklahoma History;* Seminole treaty, 345; Creek, 352, Choctaw-Chickasaw, 360; and Cherokee, 379.

[9]*United States Supreme Court Reports,* Book 59, Lawyers Edition, 116. (The railroads have never received an acre.)

granted to the tribes forever, as a part of the public domain. The white man's historic policy toward the Indians' land was to be continued until the last acre was gone.

The Cherokee agent reported in 1873—after the railroads had been actually constructed—that if the Government wished the Cherokees to adopt the Okmulgee Constitution or to consent to the allotment of the lands in severalty, there must be an unconditional repeal of all land grants to railroads.[10] The Cherokees were more opposed to railroad land grants than were the other four of the civilized tribes because of the fact that the route of the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas ran approximately along the valley of the Grand River; and that railroad would receive the very heart of the Cherokee country if the land grant ever became effective.[11] In the other nations the route ran across the valleys. The educated Cherokees knew that the coming of a railroad was ordinarily followed by an industrial revolution which would be fatal to their type of civilization. The specific objections of this tribe have been classified as follows: first, land would be taken for rights of way; second, timber would be cut for ties, bridges, and buildings; third, coal would be stripped from strip beds for locomotive fuel; and last, an influx of white settlers was feared.[12] These same doubts seem to have been common to the members of the other tribes.

The report of the Creek agent to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on October 20, 1871, mentions the fact that a great number of whites have come into the Creek country with the construction of a railroad, which furnished a new cause of "excitement and apprehension" for the Indians.[13] The Seminole Nation was not crossed by either of the railroads proposed and the Chickasaw Nation was touched only by the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas in a ten-mile stretch between Island Bayou and Red River, so that these two tribes took little part in the anti-railroad agitation.

The Choctaw attitude toward the entrance of the railroads illustrates the division caused by the subject within each of the tribes affected. Some of the leaders, the intermarried citizens and

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[10]*Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, No. 106, 1873, p. 208.

[11]Beadle, *Op. Cit.*, 427.

[12]*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, March 1926, IV, 21-2: V. A. Travis, "Life in the Cherokee Nation."

[13]*Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, No. 104, 1871, p. 575.

part-bloods, favored railroad entrance while the fullblood element feared such an event. In March, 1869, the Choctaw National Council granted to the "Thirty-fifth Parallel Railroad Company" a right of way and the land of alternate sections for six miles on either side all the way across the Nation from east to west. The same agreement was made with the "Choctaw and Chickasaw Railroad Company," planned to run north and south.[14] This grant was probably the result of a desire of an element in the Nation who wished to see the coal fields around what is now McAlester developed.[15] However, the Secetary of the Interior ruled that surveys for railroads could not be run in the Indian Territory without the express permission of his department. Since the secretary refused to grant permission for the surveys and since the Chickasaws refused to grant the projected lines any land, nothing much was done further in the interests of the two companies.[16]

J. S. Murrow of Atoka told an amusing story which illustrates the fears of the full-bloods and the arguments which they used against the construction of railroads in their country. According to Father Murrow one fullblood Choctaw spoke in this wise:

"I have ridden on those railroads east of the Mississippi. They have little houses on wheels—whole strings of them. One string can carry several hundred people. These little houses can be shut up and the doors locked. If we allow the railroads to come, the white men will give a picnic some time by the side of the iron road and will invite all the fullbloods to attend. They will get the men to play ball off a piece. Then they will get our women to go into the little houses on wheels and will lock them up and run off with them into Texas or Missouri. Then what will we do for women?"[17] For a time the Government quieted the fears of the Indians with promises not to allow the white people to come in and take over their lands. Lulled by these promises, the Indians ceased to agitate the railroad question among themselves for a time.[18]

The Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railway Company and the

[14]*Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, No. 103, 1870, p. 292.
[15]The thirty-fifth parallel runs close to McAlester.
[16]*Report of the Commisioner of Indian Affairs, Op. Cit.*
[17]Thoburn, *Op. Cit.*, I, 443.
[18]*The Report of the Commisioner of Indian Affairs*, No. 103, 1870, p. 286.

Atlantic and Pacific Railway Company, the east-west road which has since become a part of the Frisco system, attempted in the meantime to obtain land grants from the Indian Nations before construction was begun; and when their attemps failed to obtain the desired grants, the railroad companies began to use threats which once more aroused the fears of the Five Tribes.[19] This reaction is shown by a resolution passed during the fall of 1870 by the General Council of Indian Territory which met at Okmulgee for the purpose of organizing a central government for the Territory as provided in the treaties of 1866.[20] This resolution took the form of a protest to the President of the United States and read in part:

> "and also against the sale or grant of any lands directly or contingent upon the extinguishment of the Indian title, to any railroad company . . . . . now chartered for the purpose of constructing a railroad . . . . through the Indian Territory."[21]

A report of the commitee on agriculture of the same body mentions "the teeming population that moves with restless activity around our borders" and further states that "The people who have homes and cultivated fields . . . . . are more secure from intrusion and aggression than those who have no fixed residence or abiding place."[22] In general, then, the attitude of the Indians toward the entrance of the railroads was about the same as their later attitude was to be toward the opening of Oklahoma Territory to white settlement. And it seems safe to assert that the same forces which favored or opposed the entrance of the railroads were to be found later favoring or opposing the opening of the Oklahoma lands.[23]

As stated above, the first railroad actually constructed through the Territory was designed to be a connection with the Gulf of Mexico for the Union Pacific and bore the name originally "Union Pacific Railway, Southern Branch," although actually the first company was independent of the Union Pacific.[24] The Union Pacific Railway, Southern Branch, was incorporated under the

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[19] *Ibid*, 287.
[20] *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, September 1925, III, 217: "Okmulgee Constitution."
[21] *Ibid*, April 1925, 41-2: "Journal of the General Council of Indian Territory."
[22] *Ibid*, June 1925, 140.
[23] Buchanan and Dale, *A History of Oklahoma*, 189-91.
[24] *Kansas Historical Collections*, 1909-10, XI, p. 104: R. L. Douglas, "A History of Manufactures in the Kansas District."

laws of the state of Kansas in September, 1865,[25] the projected route being the one mentioned above as connecting the frontier forts in the Southwest. An act of Congrss in 1866 provided land grants to railroads in Kansas which should be built in certain specified directions, the actual award of land to be made by the state of Kansas. The Southern Branch was to receive alternate sections in a strip five miles wide on each side of the right of way in Kansas and the same provision was made for land in Indian Territory when the Indian title should be extinguished.[26]

Nothing was done by any railroad company to take advantage of the offer of land in Indian Territory for two or three years. In November, 1868, the Union Pacific, Southern Branch, began construction under a contract with the Land Grant Railway and Trust Company, which financed the project by selling the bonds of the railroad company to Dutch capitalists.[27] Some of the representatives of the Dutch bondholders took leading parts in the promotion and construction of the line, among whom were R. S. Stevens of Utica, New York, H. D. Mirick of Athens, Ohio, and George Denison also of Ohio.[28]

In the meantime James F. Joy of Detroit bought the Kansas and Neosho Valley Railroad, reorganized it under the name, "Missouri River, Ft. Scott and Gulf," and decided that his railroad should be the one which would get the land grant through the Indian Territory.[29] Early in the February of 1870 the Union Pacific, Southern Branch, was reorganized as the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad Company, a consolidation with three other roads to give access to Kansas City and St. Louis was effected, and a definite decision to secure the Indian Territory land grant was made.[30] It was obvious that, since only one north-south railroad was to be allowed through the Territory, the road which was forced to stop at the northern border of the Indian country and

[25] *Ibid*, 1911-12, XII, pp. 49-50: O. C. Hull, "Railroads in Kansas."

[26] It is hard to determine the actual amount of the land grant. Most of the accounts read with the apparent meaning given above while *Unied States Supreme Court Reports*, Book 59, Lawyers Edition, 116-21, reads "ten alternate sections per mile on each side." Other refernces are: Thoburn, *Op. Cit.*, I, 429; Beadle, *Op. Cit.*, 427; *Kansas Historical Collections, Op. Cit.*, 39.

[27] *Historic Denison*, January 1, 1929, 2. Dale and Rader, *Op. Cit.*, 597. Riegel, *The Story of the Western Railroads*, 139.

[28] *Historic Denison*, January 1, 1929, 2.

[29] Regel, *Op. Cit.*, 104.

[30] *Kansas Historical Collections, Op. Cit.*, 50.

keep that point as its southern terminus until such time as the Indian Territory became a part of the public domain would receive little traffic because of the fact that it would end nowhere; and the road which was allowed to build through to Texas would immediately obtain a lucrative business. The race between the Joy road and the Katy would furnish a rich prize to the winner and it was fiercely run. One other company, the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Ft. Gibson also attempted to obtain the land grant, but it never had a chance.[31] The newly organized Missouri, Kansas and Texas—now popularly called the "Katy"—pushed work on the extension of its line from Junction City to Chetopa in Kansas, and began work on a line from Sedalia, Missouri, to Parsons, Kans., a section of road destined to be a part of the St. Louis connection.[32]

Ironically enough the race between the Katy and the Missouri River, Ft. Scott and Gulf was really won by the Joy line, since the tracks of the latter were built to Baxter Springs, on the border of the Territory, on April 30, 1870; the tracks of the Katy did not reach the south line of Kansas until noon of June 6.[33] The story of the construction of the Katy during the last few days of the race has attracted much attention. On May 24 the rails were yet twenty-four miles from the coveted objective; the Missouri River, Ft. Scott and Gulf was already on the line awaiting the permission of the Interior Department to build south through the Territory. Even though bridges, grade and culverts were still unfinished, the Katy contractors laid track regardless of obstacles—twenty-six and one-half miles in eleven days and four of these miles in one day.[34] The prize was worth the exertion—more than three million acres of land reputed to be as fine as could be found anywhere.

The Missouri, Kansas and Texas claimed the right to proceed into the Territory on the ground that the land grant act of 1866 had designated that the north-south railroad should enter the Indian country through the valley of the Grand River down which the Katy was building. Joy's company held that the Missouri River, Ft. Scott and Gulf had fulfilled the conditions of the act since Baxter Springs was situated on the banks of a tributary of

[31] Thoburn, *Op. Cit.*, I, 430.
[32] *Historic Denison*, January 1, 1929, 2. Dale and Rader, *Op. Cit.*, 597.
[33] Thoburn, *Op. Cit.*, I, 432.
[34] Dale and Rader, *Op. Cit.*, 597-8.

the Grand and hence it was in the valley of that river.[35] A special board of commissioners investigated the case and reported to the Secretary of the Interior, Jacob D. Cox, that the Missouri, Kansas and Texas had fulfilled the terms of the land grant act of 1866, since it had built closer to the designated point than had the Missouri River, Ft. Scott and Gulf; and the committee recommended that the Katy be the railroad to which permission should be given to build through to Texas.[36] The secretary agreed with the findings of the special board and so reported the case to the President whose approval of July 20, 1870, gave the Katy the right to proceed across the Territory with its construction.[37]

After the decision of the Government the work progressed at a less furious pace, although the Katy tracklayers still made good time. A vice-president of the company claimed that his road built an average of one-half mile of road per working day during the period of two years which was consumed in construction across the Indian country.[38] The locating engineer for most of the route through Oklahoma, at least from Ft. Gibson south to Red River, was George M. Walker, who worked with surveying parties of the company from September, 1866, until the survey to Texas was completed.[39] The route followed was that of the Texas Road, roughly speaking.[40] Over this trail a stage line had run from Baxter Springs, Kansas, to El Paso, Texas,[41] and the famous Butterfield Overland Mail route seems to have come into the road, from Ft. Smith, at a point close to Perryville, from which place it proceeded south to Colbert's Ferry on Red River.[42] As the railroad was built south the stage and wagon freight lines were shortened correspondingly, though for the time they did an unprecedented business.[43] During the period of construction Colbert's Ferry, at

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[35]Thoburn, *Op. Cit.*, I, 432.

[36]*Ibid*, 433-5.

[37]*Ibid.*

[38]*Historic Denison*, February 15, 1929, 2. From a letter written by Frank Bond to the Texas legislature, May, 1873. *The Tenth Census of the United States Railroads*, IV, 361, shows that the Katy built 212 miles in 1871 and 247 miles in 1872. Of course some of this construction was outside Oklahoma.

[39]*Kansas Historical Collections*, 1913-14, XIV, 539-44: G. M. Walker, "Reminiscences of an Old Civil Engineer."

[40]*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, June 1925, III, 118: Grant Foreman, "Early Trails Through Oklahoma."

[41]*Ibid*, June 1924, II, 127: Grant Foreman, "The Centennial of Ft. Gibson."

[42]Hafen, *The Overland Mail*, 1849-1869, 89, 93, 96; map, 343.

[43]Gideon, *Indian Territory*, 44.

the Red River crossing, used two boats instead of the customary one and often handled more than two hundred wagons a day, not to mention the loose live stock.[44] Frank Colbert, owner of the ferry, is reported to have guided the Katy surveying party to a suitable site for a bridge across the Red and to have entertained them at his home, allowing them to camp in his yard at Riverside Plantation.[45]

Among the men who had charge of the actual construction were Robert S. Stevens, general manager; O. B. Gunn of Kansas City, chief engineer; John Scullin of St. Louis, who laid the rails; and George Melville, who built the stations and other necessary buildings.[46] The road was completed to the Arkansas River in 1871 and by January 1, 1872, was in actual operation as a railroad as far as Muskogee in the Creek Nation.[47] The company seems to have desired to cross the Cherokee at "the narrowest place accessible,"[48] because of the opposition of the Cherokees who regarded railroads as "introducers of calamities rather than blessings."[49] The Creeks, according to their treaty of 1866, had agreed to sell to the railroad company along the right of way "*not exceeding* on each side thereof a belt or strip of land three miles in width."[50] When the Katy reached the land of the Muskogees, the Indians offered to sell the company a strip three feet wide which they claimed would satisfy the terms of the compact;[51] so that their attitude seems as hostitle to the coming of the railroad as was that of the Cherokees. During the summer of 1871 malarial fever disabled one-half of the workmen and added to the troubles of the management.[52] However, construction was pushed on into the Choctaw Nation for the Missouri, Kansas and Texas found itself engaged in another tracklaying contest.

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[44] *Daily Oklahoman*, V. XXXVII, No. 361, January 5, 1930, p. D-1: W. B. Morrison, "The Passing of the Ferryman."

[45] *Historic Denison*, February 15, 1929, 1.

[46] Thoburn, *Op. Cit.*, I, 436. Reminiscences of A. W. Robb of Muskogee who was connected with the Katy from the time it commenced business in the Territory in April, 1871, until it reached the Arkansas River.

[47] Thoburn, *Op. Cit.*, I, 435-7. Thoburn and Wright, *Op. Cit.*, II, 479. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1871, No. 104, 566.

[48] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, ut supra.

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] Dale and Rader, *Op. Cit.*, 353.

[51] Thoburn and Wright, *Op. Cit.*, II, 480 (footnote 14).

[52] Beadle, *Op. Cit.*, 421.

The Houston and Texas Central—now a part of the Southern Pacific system—was building north from Galveston to effect a junction with the Territory road at the Red River;[53] and it was idling along until it could be ascertained definitely the point at which the Katy would arrive at the river. It was thought that the point of junction would become the site of a city which would be the metropolis of north Texas and perhaps of the Southwest. As a result of this belief the promoters of the Central and of the Katy each organized a townsite company in order to benefit by the ownership of the site of the future city.[54] The Katy could not enter Texas without a charter and the officials of the Central company had secured the land on the Texas side of the bridge site selected by the Katy engineers. The Territory road wished to reach the Texas side of Red River before the Texas Central so that it could build a mile or two past the townsite owned by the Central land company and procure its own townsite; hence, the race. The Missouri, Kansas and Texas was successful in doing this and thus made a new survey unnecessary; the site of Denison, Texas, south of the land owned by the H. and T. C. at the bridge head, was owned by Katy officials.[55] There had been some difficult construction work in the southern part of the Indian Territory through regions like the Boggy bottoms and the approaches to Red River; Red River itself had been bridged; but the Katy arrived first.

It is said that the town of Sherman, Texas, refused to pay a bonus of $50,000 or the Missouri, Kansas and Texas might have extended its line ten miles south to that city.[56] For some time there was bad blood between the officials of the Houston and Texas Central—which had arrived at Sherman by this time—and those of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas. As a result of this ill feeling the connection toward which each had been building for several years was not made immediately. The first union of the tracks of the two lines seems to have been made early in 1873 at the order of the War Department—a temporary connection for the purpose of transferring a trainload of soldiers.[57]

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[53] *United States Supreme Court Reports*, Book 59, Lawyers Edition, 116-21.
[54] *Historic Denison*, February 15, 1929, 1.
[55] *Ibid*, 4.
[56] *Ibid*, January 1, 1929, 2.
[57] *Ibid*. Also the year when the junction was made is given in Riegel, *Op. Cit.*, 108.

The new town to be built on Red River had been widely advertised as Red River City, but the Katy officials proceeded to name the new wonder metropolis which they had laid out after one of the Katy promoters, George Denison.[58] The first passenger train over the Missouri, Kansas and Texas entered the Lone Star state on December 25, 1872,[59] with P. H. Tobin as engineer. Further construction work on the Katy was delayed by the lack of a charter to build into Texas and by the collapse of the financial world known as the Panic of 1873.

The railroad had been built through the Territory without interference from the Indians. The Choctaws objected to the railroad's policy of purchasing ties and bridge timbers from unauthorized individuals[60]—a point of controversy with each nation through which the Katy passed—but the chief difficulty was encountered in keeping order among the rough characters, white and halfbreed outlaws, who congregated in the mushroom towns which grew up at each successive end of track.[61] Descriptions of these early railroad towns remind one of descriptions made of the Union Pacific "cities." Most of them still exist and many have grown into real cities.

Vinita came into existence because the Atlantic and Pacific reached that point on the Katy early in 1872.[62] The Katy had wished to make the junction at Big Cabin and refused to stop its trains at Vinita for some time. The Atlantic and Pacific remedied this inconvenience for its passengers by stopping a freight on the crossing each time a Katy passenger train was due. The M. K. and T. finally capitulated and built a station at Vinita.[63] Other towns of early importance were Muskogee, from which a regular stage and freight line made connections with Ft. Smith;[64] McAlester, in the Choctaw coal fields; Stringtown, planned to be a leading lumber market;[65] Atoka, important town of the Choctaw country and form-

[58] *Historic Denison, Op. Cit.*
[59] *Daily Oklahoman, Op. Cit.*
[60] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, No. 105, 1872, 76; and No. 106, 1873, 209.
[61] *Ibid*, No. 105, 1872, 93.
[62] Gideon, *Indian Territory*, 163. Thoburn, *Op. Cit.*, I, 435.
[63] Gideon, *Op. Cit.* 165,
[64] Thoburn, *Op. Cit.*, I, 436-7.
[65] Dale and Rader, *Op. Cit.*, 610.

erly a stage stand on the Overland Mail;[66] and Caddo, from which a branch line was planned to Paris, Texas, and which was the railroad point of supply for Ft. Sill.[67] Every few miles, of course, there would be a lonesome switch so that trains could pass on the single track and goods from the countryside could be loaded. Some towns, like Durant and Wagoner, originated as settlements alongside these switches.[68]

Life in these early towns must have been anything but pleasant to those of peaceable natures, especially when the railroad was in the course of construction. While the terminus of the Katy and the offices of the connecting stage lines were at Muskogee and Ft. Gibson, sixteen murders were said to have been committed.[69] While the terminus was at the Canadian River, the Secretary of the Interior came down on an inspection trip and stayed one night there in his car. During the night a murder was committed within one hundred yards of the Secretary's car and within the same zone a man was robbed of eighty dollars in gold.[70] The Secretary, after seeing conditions for himself and feeling that nothing short of military supervision could control the lawless element, sent a detachment to clean out the outlaws. This detachment was under the command of Lieutenant De Hart G. Quinby. Later Colonel J. A. Hardie, Inspector General, U. S. Army, visited the Choctaw country "to supervise the removal, which was effected thoroughly and without serious trouble."[71]

R. S. Stevens is said to have remarked that he "had built the Katy through a tunnel two hundred and fifty miles long."[72] In a sense this statement is true, but there was a little traffic to be handled by the railroad in the Territory from the very first. Cattle shipments increased as the road was built south,[73] although the cattle traffic never did come up to expectations. The Northern Drive had moved west and developed into something of a science

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[66]Gideon, *Op. Cit.*, 182

[67]Dale and Rader, *Op. Cit.*, 610-11.

[68]In the Choctaw country these switches were primarily for the purpose of loading cattle to be shipped north.

[69]Beadle, *Op. Cit.*, 371.

[70]*Ibid*, 401.

[71]*Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, No. 106, 1873, p. 93.

[72]Thoburn, *Op. Cit.*, I, 444.

[73]*Ibid*, 436, Denison, Texas, the Texas terminus for several years, became a great cattle shipping point: Rister, *The Southwestern Frontier*, 1865-1881, 299.

before the Katy arrived on Red River and the cattlemen evidently thought it more economical to drive across the western part of the Territory than to ship their cattle by railroad; also, the Katy had arrived in a somewhat settled part of Texas which was a little east of the real cattle country. The first shipment of cattle out of Indian Territory was said to have been made from Chouteau; the first shipment of cotton from Gibson Station.[74] There was quite a large traffic in transporting military supplies to the different forts along the route or close to it.[74] A Parsons, Kansas, dispatch to the St. Louis *Republican* gives some idea of the traffic on the new road just before its completion to Denison—the dispatch is dated September 20, 1872:

"Yesterday a train of sixteen cars of cattle from Red River City, or Denison, as the new city at the terminus of the road in Texas is called, passed through Parsons, under contract to be unloaded at St. Louis in five days from time of starting. They had to drive two days out of the five; also a rest of twelve hours at Schell City. This road during the last fifteen days of this month has shipped 499 carloads of cattle, 375 carloads of coal, 170 carloads of material from the A. T. and S. F. Railroad and about 300 cars of merchandise for Texas. Immigration to Texas is increasing rapidly. Eight trains pass this place daily, averaging eighteen cars per train. Tonight the track is within twenty-three miles of Red River. This road will ship 30,000 bales of cotton into St. Louis this year."[76]

The new city of Denison attracted a special correspondent of the New York *Graphic* in February, 1874, who reported that twelve hundred live cattle were shipped daily from Denison in the fall of 1873 and that the drovers were beginning to learn that freights are cheaper than "expenses of tedious driving."[77] This correspondent also reported the presence of J. P. McCoy in the city of Denison as an employee of "The American and Texas Refrigerator Car Company" to aid that firm in persuading the cattlemen to ship their beef in refrigerator cars. [78] Business through the "tunnel" could have been worse.

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[74]Thoburn, *Op. Cit.*, I, 436.
[75]*Ibid.*
[76]Thoburn and Wright, *Op. Cit.*, II. 480 (footnotes 15-16).
[77]*Historic Denison*, January 1, 1929, 4.
[78]*Ibid.*

Although the Katy never did receive its conditional land grant in the Indian Territory,[79] the company eventually completed its own trackage to the Gulf. However, that is a later story. The building of the Katy through Indian Territory completed the orginal project which had resulted in the chartering of the Union Pacific, Southern Branch. This construction was accomplished in spite of the protests of the Five Civilized Tribes and afforded a means by which the white men could view the heart of the forbidden country and covet the fertile, uncultivated stretches. Kansans, Texans, and others who crossed the Territory must have picked out spots which they desired to possess. White men came into the country as intermarried citizens, storekeepers, land leasers, millers, and to take up other occupations. The Panic of 1873 which forced the Katy to keep its southern terminus at Denison was also the beginning of a period of depression which aided those agitators who desired the opening of the Indian Territory to white settlement and the allotment of the Indian land in severalty so that the remainder would be available under the public land laws. The channel for the flood of white men, ostensibly constructed as a short cut to the Gulf, had been constructed through the heart of the Indian country; and though the flood was kept within bounds for some years, it was inevitable that overflow would eventually come in which the Indian would lose his separate identity.

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GOVERNOR CHARLES N. HASKELL

GOVERNOR HASKELL TELLS OF TWO CONVENTIONS

Introduction by Paul Nesbitt

Charles N. Haskell possessed the very highest order of executive ability. Whether as governor of a state, builder of a railroad or head of a corporaton he perceived the essentials and vigorously pressed activities to accomplishment. He never encumbered himself with details—like a good general he left details to subordinates. He was a born leader of men, and like leaders of men, inspired confidence and enthusiasm in others.

He was not a profound lawyer, but he could draw from a profound lawyer enough information in an hour to guide him through hazardous cases. He was not a great statesman, but he grasped the essentials from association with statesmen and put into practice what students could never rise to perform. He relied heavily upon information of other men, but relied upon his own genius in the execution of whatever problems he had in hand.

I do not mean to say that he never made mistakes. He was an intrepid, and, at times, an impulsive fighter in any line of endeavor; and impulsiveness leads one into error. But even when he erred he was to be feared, for he was resourceful in the utmost degree and often turned what appeared to be defeat into victory.

He arrived in Indian Territory at an opportune time for display of his genius. It was unorganized territory, so far as government was concerned. To be sure there was Indian government which concerned largely the affairs of those Indians to whom that territory had been traded by the Federal government; but the whites were crowding into it—as they have ever done. As coal deposits were developed; as oil and gas fields were opened up, capital began pouring in; and where capital is planted, there white men will try to set up some kind of government which they can control.

Lying by the side of the Indian Territory, and taken from it, was Oklahoma Territory. It had the advantage of being an organized territory—was divided into counties with local self-government.

It was a rich, though yet undeveloped agricultural country with a number of thriving little cities. Both territories were clamoring for statehood. I shall not discuss statehood questions, I simply mean to point out that these two territories were potential fields for men who were seeking either political or commercial advantages.

Charles N. Haskell came to Indian Territory as a railroad builder. He made his home in Muskogee, and through his leadership it grew by leaps and bounds. He was an outstanding citizen when questions of statehood were being discussed.

Those of us in Oklahoma Territory were busily engaged in our own political and commercial affairs. Many of us had heard about the railroad building in Indian Territory, and some of us had come to know there was such a person as C. N. Haskell. That was all, until his star flashed across the political skies in meteoric fashion when statehood came upon us.

When the Enabling Act was passed the democratic organizations of the two territories met and agreed to join their forces in a campaign for election of delegates to the Constitutional Convention. A campaign committee was selected composed of the following members; Jesse J. Dunn of Alva, Chairman; Charles D. Carter, Ardmore, Secretary; Joseph Johnston, Alva, Treasurer; W. D. Cardwell, Oklahoma City, chairman of speakers' bureau, and Paul Nesbitt, chairman of the press bureau.

Thus I found myself a lieutenant in the chief command of the democratic forces. For more than a year prior to the formation of this committee I had been doing newspaper work in St. Louis and Joplin, Missouri. Jesse Dunn and I had lived in adjoining counties in western Oklahoma and were close friends. I received a telegram from him to be in Oklahoma City when the two territorial committees met there. When I arrived he told me he wanted me to take charge of the press bureau in the campaign—and he arranged with the committees to have me appointed.

I never had met Charley Carter until then, but we became fast friends, a friendship which I cherished to his death. Cardwell I had known for a number of years, and as well Joe Johnston.

They are dead now. I am the only living member of that committee—and I am still young.

Owing to the uncertainties of the election in the Muskogee district party lines were not drawn. The leaders of that little city were determined to have representation in the constitutional convention by prominent and able men. So a citizens ticket was put out with Charles N. Haskell, democrat, as one candidate; and Phillip Hopkins, republican, the other candidate. That district was entitled to two delegates. Both were elected.

As he was on a citizens ticket Mr. Haskell did not take an active part with the demcorats, and we knew little about the campaign over there aside from the controverses which arose because of the absence of a democratic ticket.

I never met the future Governor until after the constitutional convention was in session. Many of us from Oklahoma were not greatly enthused when Indian Territory delegates took charge of the organization of the convention, but from the first days we realized that a master hand was moving pawns on that "checkerboard of nights and days."

After conflicts and strife the Constitution was moulded into form, submitted to a vote of the people, and at the election Charles N. Haskell was elected governor. I did not support him in the primary when he was nominated and we had some verbal exchanges in which I was "devastated." Afterwards we became friends, and I never had a better one—or truer one.

After a year in the Governor's office, perhaps a little more than a year, he asked me to take a position as executive clerk and I complied. I was with him until near the close of his term when I resigned to take up newspaper work. Our relations had been close and I owe to him about all that I know of practical politics. I was always a student of government, and hope that I rendered him some assistance.

Looking back to that period, calling up familiar faces, I find that I am the only living member of Governor Haskell's official family. And I repeat—I am still young.

Sometime in the late fall of the year 1920 I received a telegram

from Governor Haskell asking me to come to New York where he was engaged in business. I complied with the request. I had not seen him for eight years. I found him on the sixteenth floor of a skyscraper on Madison Street. His offices occupied the whole floor and I found him as always, working under high pressure with a long waiting list anxious to see him.

His object in sending for me was to have me write the story of his life, especially his activities in the formation of the State of Oklahoma and his term as governor. For the reason that I was associated with him part of his term as governor, and had gone through the various conflicts leading up to statehood he chose me to perform the task.

After considerable research work I came to the conclusion that any story of Haskell should be told by Haskell—in his own way. I finally convinced him; in fact, the question of time in which to relate the events he wished to put in such a story was the principal obstacle. Finally we hit on the plan which we followed as far as we got with it. He would sit in an easy chair smoking a cigar and relate incidents that occurred; and such was his memory that he could relate incidents and dates without ever referring to records. His words were taken down by a stenographer—and the lady who thus performed was Theodore Roosevelt's private secretary up to the time of his death. After a half hour of "chatting" about the events which transpired in those other days he would return to work.

Unfortunate it was that we had but three or four of these half hours when it became necessary for me to return to Oklahoma. It was arranged that I should return after two weeks and we were to continue our work to completion. As I was preparing to return to New York I received a wire stating that he was ill and would be unable to continue for some time. We never were able to arrange to complete the work. I became involved in political affairs. He came down from New York to give us assistance and we again talked about finishing our work after the campaign. It never came about—and I am here offering some of the chapters I think will be interesting and that are of historical value—principally because they are the words of the man who so largely influenced events of that time.

HASKELL'S OWN STORY

For a number of years prior to statehood, both Oklahoma and Indian Territories had made efforts to induce the Congress to pass acts admitting them to statehood. These efforts had been independently conducted as neither of the territories had entertained the suggestion that their areas should be included in one state.

In fact, single statehood did not grow out of any demand from the people of the two territories. It was forced upon us by the political powers at Washington. As far back as 1898 when states then recently admitted to the Union returned votes against the party in power, prominent republican leaders took the stand that no more territories should be admitted to the sisterhood of states. These leaders reasoned that almost all territories then seeking admission were in the South and West, geographically located, to say the very least, in doubtful territory. Then why should the republican party add to the strength of the democrats in congress by making new states which were quite likely to send up democratic delegations?

This reasoning the republicans adhered to for a number of years. However, as the memory of political ingratitude died out in the ever-changing personnel of congress; and as Oklahoma Territory rather persistantly returned a republican delegate to that body, sympathy was extended to the rapidly growing Territory. The great resources, mounting wealth and population of Oklahoma could not very well be ignored by the republican majority. However, there were enough old members in the houses of Congress to sound a note of warning.

Uncle Joe Cannon, speaker of the house in those days was one who had learned in the school of experience—and reconstruction days were not so far removed; days when the party in power retained its position by limiting the voting population to Northern states. That statehood was finally granted to the twin territories was not the result of any effort on the part of Speaker Cannon. Out of the kindness of his heart, and aside from political alignments and exigencies no kinder man ever lived, he was willing for Oklahoma and Indian Territory to have statehood—but he was in no hurry about it.

When party leaders then in power were pressed and importuned on behalf of citizens of the territories, they would suggest that they might support statehood on condition that the territories should be joined in one state. They argued that it was against the interests of the republican party to make two states which were quite likely to return democratic delegations to congress, whereas, if they must finally yield they could at least consolidate the territories and reduce the damage to their party by a minimum of two democratic senators, and perhaps a divided delegation in the House.

They were perfectly safe in making this proposal. It would keep up an agitation and no agreement between the territories was likely to be effected in the near future. Oklahoma republicans were sure they were in the majority and in the event a state was created for them, they believed they could control within the state. They did not want to take any chances of being overwhelmed by the democrats of Indian Territory. On the other hand, the Indians of Indian Territory did not want to be fettered to a white man's state. Thus political interests prevented any kind of statehood for a number of years.

Along in the early part of 1900 it became difficult to deny statehood to territories that contained a million and a half population; whose farm products were greater than any of a dozen states; that had more miles of railroads than many of the states, a great coal deposit—and oil and gas. Development of the great resources of these two territories interested and brought into them many men of wealth and influence. So great was the pressure in Congress that leaders finally conceded that some action would have to be taken—that in justice to the people of those territories statehood would have to be granted.

Finally republican leaders made known the terms upon which they would support the entry of these territories to the sisterhood of states—single statehood for Oklahoma and Indian Territory. Even after the terms were made known republicans in Oklahoma declared in their platform for statehood for Oklahoma alone, hoping to convince the ever-changing personnel of Congress that their cause was just. The organization of that political party in Oklahoma was in the hands of appointed territorial office holders, and like Uncle Joe Cannon, they were for statehood—but were in no hurry about it.

On the other hand the democrats of Oklahoma Territory held no appointive offices. There were no political ties binding them to a national dominant party. They knew that Congress would grant none other than single statehood for the two territories. The element of selfishness controlled them very largely in their stand for a state made out of the two territories. They knew that the Indian Territory white population came largely from Southern states and was democratic. They knew, too, that the Indians of the Five Civilized tribes were from Southern states and nearly all white intermarried citizens were Southern people. Democrats of Oklahoma Territory looked upon single statehood as a sure method of gaining and maintaining political supremacy in the new state.

However, democrats of Indian Territory were actuated by no such considerations. They knew that the territory of the Indians was strongly democratic and if Oklahoma Territory should be republican, they simply jeopardized their political control by forming an alliance with that territory. They accepted and advocated single statehood because they knew there was no possible chance of getting any other kind of an enabling act.

After several years of agitation, fighting for a state where they hoped to be able to control, the republicans of Oklahoma in 1905 finally accepted what they could not defeat, and joining with the republicans of Indian Territory, made an honest effort to secure statehood on the only terms Congress was willing to grant—incorporation of the two territories into one state. Bird McGuire, delegate to Congress from Oklahoma territory, decided that further efforts to obtain an enabling act for Oklahoma alone were futile and, accepting the ultimatum of his own party leaders in Congress, began lining up forces in the two territories for single statehood. In this he was ably supported by both republicans and democrats.

A convention was called to meet in Oklahoma City July 12, 1905, for the purpose of passing resolutions favoring single statehood, and selecting a delegation to attend the convening of Congress in the fall to lobby for the passage of an enabling act in conformity with the resolutions. There was a feeling that the act would be passed as soon as Congress met and leaders were anxious

to convince that body that there was a strong sentiment for single statehood in both territories.

I am relating the facts which led up to statehood as I saw and understood them at the time. Political leaders were not actuated altogether by lofty and patriotic motives. It was largely a struggle for political power and supremacy—and the welfare of both territories was sacrificed by those who were seeking political position and power in a new state. It is not a bad idea to relate facts once in a while when recording history.

I never had attended any of those statehood conventions, which seemed to be the regular summer outing of the people of the two territories. My time was occupied with railroad building and the promotion of improvements in and around Muskogee. In my work I had made the acquaintance and had become a warm friend of Governor Pleasant Porter, chief of the Creek Indians. Our offices were in the same building.

One morning about the time preparations were being made to elect delegates to the Oklahoma City convention I saw in the Muskogee Phoenix a call for a convention of the Five Civilized tribes for the purpose of asking Congress to admit Indian Territory as a state. This call was signed by W. C. Rogers, chief of the Cherokees; Green McCurtain, chief of the Choctaws, and J. A. Norman. I took the paper in my hand and walked around to Governor Porter's office, and asked him what he knew about it.

"Well," he said, "it won't amount to anything. You know the white people will pay no attention to anything the Indians do. Our wishes would have no weight with Congress."

I told him it might amount to something, if it was handled properly, and could be of great value to the Indians by letting the world know how they stand on the question of statehood. He replied "I haven't much hopes. I know there are some white men like you who understand the Indians; and I know you would do what you could, but the majority of white men will not pay any attention to what the Indians want."

We talked the matter over at some length and in the end the Governor agreed to call all of the chiefs together at a near date when we would talk the matter over again and decide what to do. I

felt that, in order to secure statehood, it would be necessary to have a declaration in favor of it from the Indians. So long as certain leaders in Congress desired to hold off statehood they could get the aid of the dissenting Indians. This they could do because it was not in line with the treaty made at Atoka in 1898 to grant statehood to the two territories. That treaty provided that, "The tribal governments so modified will prove so satisfactory that there will be no need or desire for further change till the lands now occupied by the Five Civilized Tribes shall, in the opinion of congress, be prepared for admission as a state in the Union."

That treaty was made with the express understanding that it was a step towards statehood, and went so far as to specify that "the lands now occupied by the Five Civilized Tribes shall be prepared for admission as a state." There was no thought of including Oklahoma in the proposed state and it was well known that the Indians objected to inclusion in a state where the whites would have the controlling voice in government.

According to agreement Governor Porter called the other tribal Governors together at Muskogee July 20, 1905. They met in the Turner Hotel and sent for me. I found there, Governor Brown, chief of the Seminoles; Governor Rogers, chief of the Cherokees; Governor McCurtain, chief of the Choctaws; Governor Porter, chief of the Creeks, and W. H. Murray, a kinsman of Governor Johnston, chief of the Chickasaws, who was representing the governor. It was the first time I had met Mr. Murray who was destined to take a very promnent part in the affairs from that time on, and with whom I was closely associated through the early struggle leading up to statehood and for a long time thereafter.

In the meeting we discussed the question of calling a convention for the purpose of drafting a constitution with a view to presenting it to Congress and asking that Indian Territory be granted statehood according to the terms of the Atoka Agreement. I told the governors that I did not believe that Congress would grant statehood but that they were entitled to it under the treaty. I told them in the event we failed to secure statehood for Indian Territory that I wanted them to agree that they would accept the verdict of Congress and support statehood for the two territories. I told them I would take part in the convention they were calling and would do all I could to make its work a success.

After discussing the question at length we entered into a written agreement, and all of us signed it, the chiefs of the tribes agreeing to support single statehood if we failed to get statehood for Indian Territory. This was the farthest step towards accomplishment of statehood that had yet been taken for it committed the Indians to such statehood as Congress was willing to grant; and it took from the opponents of any kind of statehood the one excuse they had always been able to rely upon—the opposition of the Indians.

The formal call for the constitutional conventional for Indian Territory was made that day and signed by all of the tribal governors with the exception of Governor Johnston who was not present. George W. Scott, secretary of Governor McCurtain, signed the call as secretary of the meeting. The convention was called to meet in Muskogee August 21, 1905. The call provided for election of delegates from recording districts.

Launching a campaign for statehood for Indian Territory at the time delegates were being selected for the Oklahoma City single statehood convention did not attract much attention at first. It was thought to be a sporadic attempt to thwart single statehood and the leaders of that movement did not take it seriously until the call issued by the five governors appeared calling for election of delegates and fixing the time for the convention.

Governor Porter appointed me chairman of the Tenth Recording District and I called a convention for election of delegates When we met there was a surprising interest in the election. Chief Porter was unanimously agreed upon, but there was considerable contest for the other places. The following were selected to represent our district. Chief Pleasant Porter; George E. Bennett; S. M. Rutherford; A. P. McKellop; Cheesie McIntosh; Rev. Grant Evans and myself. The alternates were, Connell Rogers; Thomas H. Owens; Masterson Peyton; J. P. Davidson; F. E Bentine; Judge John R. Thomas and Edgar DeMeules.

An incident of the convention was the failure of Robert L. Owen, afterwards United States Senator, to secure a place on the delegation, although he was an enthusiastic supporter of separate statehood. He came to me after the convention and stated that he had been very anxious to assist in writing the consti-

tution, and manifested considerable disappointment that he had been unable to secure a place on the delegation. I had heard that he owned a ranch near the Osage Nation, and asked him if that was a fact. He said it was and told me just where it was located. I knew a cattleman up there, so I told him I would see what I could do to get him into the convention. I called my friend who lived near the Owen ranch and asked him to call a meeting and have Owen placed on a delegation from that section, and he complied, much to the gratification of Mr. Owen.

The separate statehood plan for Indian Territory met with greater approval than we had expected. Practically every recording district elected delegates. Some of the ablest men in the Territory were elected and enthusiastically supported the plan. Many of them had been supporting the single statehood plan on the grounds that it seemed to be the only hope of statehood. Others who were supporting single statehood now looked with alarm upon the growing sentiment for separate statehood.

R. L. Williams of Durant and W. A. Ledbetter of Ardmore, both of whom became prominent in the convention which wrote the Oklahoma Constitution, were opposed to our movement for a convention called by the Indian Chiefs. They did not openly oppose the election of delegates to this convention to any extent. In an interview given to the Muskogee papers Williams said he feared the Muskogee convention would tend to defeat any kind of statehood. That was the popular idea among those who were committed to single statehood. Perhaps if they had known that the Indians were then committed to single statehood, if they were not successful in securing statehood for Indian Territory; and that hereafter opponents of statehood would not have the Indians to fall back upon as excuses for delay, they would not have felt as they did about the matter.

In an interview published in the *Muskogee Democrat,* August 5th, I said in answer to some of the charges being made against the convention, "Everybody knows that the white residents of this country who own property here want some kind of statehood for their own protection—but what about the Indian? He never has spoken and Congress is waiting to hear from him. The Indian now comes forward for the first time and asks to be heard."

There were few men who cared to take a stand against the Indians, so the opposition was hushed or remarks very adroitly made.

In and around Muskogee where the convention was to meet such opposition as was at first manifested soon subsided, and even those who were not in sympathy rendered assistance in making preparation for the convention and entertaining the debates. A meeting was held in the room of the Commercial Club where committees were appointed to make arrangements. The Hinton Theater was secured for the convention and decorated for the occasion.

As the delegates began to assemble the chiefs of the tribes met at the Turner Hotel and held a conference. Governor McCurtain was delegated to call and make known that they had selected me as their choice for president of the convention. I told them that I didn't object to doing the work, but it was not good policy to make me the presiding officer.

"While this is to be a joint convention of Indians and whites, it must be kept in mind that the Indians are not merely a side issue," I told them, "but rather they are active participants. There are many Indians well known, not only at home, but in Washington; men thoroughly capable of presiding over this convention. I cannot accept your kind offer, much as I appreciate the honor. In my judgement it would be a great mistake not to have an Indian for president of the convention."

"Although we are all for you," Governor McCurtain replied, "I do think you are right, looking forward to results."

I told him to go back to the conference and agree upon one of the chiefs, and when they had decided whom they wanted, to let me know their choice; that I would then go out among the delegates and see what I could do to line them up. I told him that any one of them would be a credit to the convention and that it was results we were after—not bouquets.

Governor McCurtain returned to the hotel and they had another conference and finally decided upon Governor Porter for President of the convention with the understanding that I would consent to be vice-president. This was satisfactory all around, and we went into the convention with a program pretty well agreed upon.

There were 167 delegates elected representing every section

of the Territory, representing, too, both Indians and white people. Among them were some of the outstanding men of the Territory who were leaders and friends of the Indians. Governor Johnston, Chief of the Chickasaws, did not attend the convention and took no part in the election of delegates. He was at that time busily engaged in settlement of tribal affairs and did not want to divide his efforts. He was ably represented by W. H. Murray who became one of the leading figures in the convention.

The convention assembled at the Hinton Theater on the morning of August 21, 1905, and was called to order by Governor Rogers, Chief of the Cherokees. Rev. A. Grant Evans invoked the divine blessing and Mayor Fite extended a welcome to the delegates on behalf of the City of Muskogee.

D. C. McCurtain, son of Governor McCurtain, Chief of the Choctaws, was chosen temporary chairman. W. H. Murray offered a motion providing for a committee on organization which was adopted. This committee soon reported, recommending Governor Porter, Chief of the Creeks, for President of the convention; C. N. Haskell for vice-president; Alex Posey for secretary and James Culbertson, A. B. Cunningham and W. H. Paul, assistants; Fred Wisnell, Sergeant at Arms, E. H. Doyle official reporter, and D. F. Dickey official stenographer. The recommendation of the committee was quickly adopted and the convention was ready for its work.

Note: At this point in his narrative Governor Haskell asked that the names of all committees of the convention be taken from files and included in his memoirs. The list follows:

Committee on constitution was appointed from recording districts as follows: 2nd, James Davenport; 3rd, R. L. Owen; 4th, John Bullard; 5th, Dr. W. T. Tilley; 6th, W. W. Hastings; 7th, Theo. Potts; 8th, F. R. Brennon; 9th, Geo. D. Harperson; 10th, John R. Thomas; 11th, J. G. McCombs; 12th, G. W. Grayson; 13th, Gov. John R. Brown; 14th, W. A. Welch; 15th, R. B. Coleman; 16th, F. A. Walker; 17th, E. M. Moore; 18th, Joe Colbert; 20th, Frank O. Smith; 21st, Andrew Hutchings; 22nd, W. H. Murray; 23rd, D. N. Robb; 24th, Peter J. Hudson; 25th, S. J. Homer; 26th, W. H. Keltner.

Additional members appointed by Chairman Porter as follows: Cheesie McIntosh, Checotah; D. M. Hodge, Tulsa; Joel M. LaHay, Claremore; W. P. Thompson, Vinita; L. B. Bell, Vinita; C. B. Benge, Talequah; Thos. W. Carlysle, Sallisaw; G. W. Scott, Kinta; J. M. Webb, Kemp; Chas. Bagg, Pauls Valley; J. Hamp Willis, Kingston; J. Henry Shepard, South McAlester; Masterson Peyton, Muskogee; Leo E. Bennett, Muskogee; Connell Rogers, Ft. Gibson; Thos. H. Owen, Muskogee; S. M. Rutherford, Muskogee; A. S. McKennon, South McAlester; D. C. McCurtain, South McAlester; D. M. Hailey, South McAlester; William Sapulpa, Sapulpa; B. H. Whittaker, Stilwell; J. Hill, Beggs; Guy Bowman, Broken Arrow; R. W. Harrison, Atoka.

Committee on constitution met and organized by making W. W. Hastings chairman; Judge John R. Thomas, Vice chairman; A. Grant Evans, secy. Subcommittees were selected as follows: Preamble, declaration of right and powers of government: R. L. Owen, chm., Geo. W. Grayson, Soloman Homer, E. M. Moore, Guy Bowman. County Boundaries, County Seats and Enumeration of Population, Leo Bennett, Chm., Geo. W. Benge, D. C. McCurtain, W. H. Murray, Joel LaHay, Legislative and Executive Departments: Thos. H. Owen, Chm., Theo. Potts, Harry Campbell, Geo. Scott, Joe Colbert and J. R. Thomas. Judicial Department: John R. Thomas, Chm., W. P. Thompson, Chas. Bagg, Masterson Peyton, S. M. Rutherford. Education: J. Henry Shepard, Chm., Cheesie McIntosh, Ben Vaughn, R. B. Coleman, J. L. Webb. Mining, Militia, and Minor Administrative Departments: D. M. Hailey, Chm., Connell Rogers, John Bullete, T. R. Freeman, F. O. Smith. Corporations: Jas. H. Davenport, Chm., Thos. H. Owen, J. G. McCombs, Andrew Hutchings, R. J. Hill. Suffrage, Elections and Preservation of Purity of Government; including Initiative and Referendum: Joel LaHay, Chm., D. M. Hodge, W. A. Welch, D. H. Whittaker, P. J. Hudson. Rights and Exemptions of Property: Gov. John F. Brown, Chm., S. M. Rutherford, L. B. Bell, W. T. Tilley, T. C. Walker. Finance and Revenue: D. M. Hodge, Chm., John E. Brown, Thos. J. Carlysle, W. H. Keltner, R. W. Harrison. Miscellaneous Provisions, Constitutional Amendments and Prohibition: A. S. McKennon, Chm., D. N. Robb, Geo. Harrison, P. A. Byers, Sapulpa.

Committee appointed to accompany congressmen at large to

CONSTITU

ENTION

Washington to work for adoption of constitution: D. M. Hailey, Geo. Benge, W. W. Hastings, W. F. Thompson, Sam Mayes, W. P. Welch, Cheesie McIntosh, Sol. J. Homer, Dr. H. C. Nash, C. M. Shepard, F. E. Breman, Leo. E. Bennett, A. Grant Evans, Chas. Baggs, G. D. Sleeper, Silas Armstrong, E. M. Faulkner, Theo. Potts and J. M. Coombs.

The various committees began at once upon the task of writing a constitution. There was the usual contention over provisions of the proposed organic law such as will always be encountered by men who have studied the questions they have in hand and see and think differently, but the work was rapidly brought to conclusion—compared to other similar conventions. The convention was in session twenty-one days—completed the draft of the constitution and issued a call for election to ratify the work of the convention, and for election of four congressman.

This was the first territory election ever held in Indian Territory. Approximately 67,000 votes were cast in that election. There were less than 10,000 against the constitution. I knew that if we got out a good vote we would have to put some element of personal interest in it, so we injected the county seat question. That brought the voters out. Not all of the voters cared about the constitution but in case it should be successful—and the success of the convention had exceeded all expectations—no one wanted to fall down on the matter of county seats.

We presented the constitution to Congress and our delegation urged statehood along the lines we proposed, but, as I feared, that body would not listen to our appeal. Congress flatly told the committee that it did not propose to make a separate state of Indian Territory. Although the Indians were humiliated and disappointed they were loyal to the agreement we had entered into. They were invited by Uncle Joe Cannon to protest against joint statehood. They told him if Congress would not give them separate statehood they would be satisfied with single statehood.

The Sequoyah convention, as it was called and will always be known, did more to prepare the Indians for statehood than any other thing done for them. They felt that an honest effort had been made to bring about statehood on the lines promised in the Atoka agreement. That Congress would not grant them this right

was an obstacle that could not be overcome. I had pointed out to them in our first discussion of the subject the troubles that were in the way, but I felt that an honest effort should be made to carry out the agreement the government had entered into with the Five Civilized Tribes. When that effort had been made by some of the leading citizens of Indian Territory whose friendship they could not doubt they were willing to submit to the inevitable.

Among the men who participated in the Sequoyah Convention were some who have achieved prominence, not only in Oklahoma, but throughout the Nation. Robert L. Owens became one of the first United States Senators. W. H. Murray became president of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention; was speaker of the first House of Representatives of the new state and later a member of Congress. James Davenport was elected to Congress in the first state election, and W. W. Hastings has served several terms in the National House of Representatives. Thomas H. Owens has served on the bench of the Criminal Court of Appeals, and on the bench of the Oklahoma Supreme Court. Rev. A. Grant Evans became, at a later date, President of the Oklahoma State University. Moty Tiger became Chief of the Creeks and Dr. Tilley president of the State Medical Board. S. M. Rutherford at this time is serving a term as State Senator and J. M. Keyes, a Cherokee, was elected to the state senate in the first Oklahoma state election. It was my fortune to be the first governor of the new State of Oklahoma.

OKLAHOMA CONVENTION

About ten o'clock on the night of the election of delegates to the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention I received a telegram from W. H. Murray saying that he had been elected and hoped that I had been. He stated in this telegram that in the event I was elected I was his choice for President of the convention. I immediately answered congratulating him upon his election and informing him that I had been elected. I also told him not to discuss the presidency of the convention until I saw him, and that I was writing him a letter. In the letter I told Murray that I thought he was the man for president of the convention, but it would be better to say nothing until we had time to size up the situation.

I did not care to be president of the convention. I knew little about parliamentary rules, and besides the presiding officer has little time for legislative work such as I wanted to give to the making of the constitution. I knew Murray to be honest and a good parliamentarian, and I believed that he would make a good presiding officer.

As the time set for the convening of the convention was but a few days off I saw very few of the delegates. I went to Guthrie on Wednesday preceding the convening on Monday, November 20, 1906. When I arrived I went to the Royal Hotel which was then the principal one in town. I had not engaged a room in advance. When I registered I was told that every room in the house was engaged for the convention. Upon inquiry I learned that only five delegates were on the list of those who had engaged rooms. The rest were from Chicago, Kansas City, St. Louis and other points outside of the two territories, most of them well known attorneys for large corporations.

Mr. Brooks, the proprietor, told me he could give a room for a few days, so I accepted his offer. I knew in my own mind that the crowd that had reserved those rooms would be releasing them soon. Right then I decided that I would propose a resolution that would make them hunt other quarters. While on this subject I will say that is just what I did—and what I believed would result sure enough did. One of the first things I did after the convention was organized was to introduce an anti-lobbying resolution which was passed—and the hotel reservations were promptly cancelled. The corporation lobbyists went to Oklahoma City, principally, where they laid plans to influence the convention by another procedure.

When I arrived in Guthrie, W. C. Hughes, one of the delegates from Oklahoma City, was already there and had under way the nucleus of an organization, the object of which was to make him president of the convention. W. D. Cardwell had charge of his organization operations. The latter had been chairman of the speakers' bureau of the democratic campaign committee and was an able organizer. According to their ideas they had the convention arrangements all made.

R. L. Williams arrived the day following my arrival. There had been considerable talk about how Williams and I would spend

our time fighting each other. This talk came out of the opposition Williams had made to the Sequoyah convention. Newspapers assumed that both of us were ambitious to control, and, having been on opposite sides on the statehood question, would again line up against each other. In that they were judging us by the rule of conduct that had been followed in the Indian Territory when there was nothing but positions to fight for. At this time, however, both of us were anxious to assist in writing a constitution that would meet the conditions which had arisen since other state constitutions had been made.

I met Mr. Williams the day he arrived. We went over to a corner of the hotel lobby and I said, "Mr. Williams, you and I never have had an opportunity to work together. I have an idea that each of us will want about the same kind of a constitution."

I knew that he was pledged to everything that could be thought of in a platform from prohibition to control of corporations. I said, "Hughes is a nice fellow but I don't like the element that is proposing him and I cannot support him for president of the convention."

He agreed that we would be able to work together and said that we would have no differences on the question of organization of the convention as he was there to support me for president. I said that wouldn't do—that it was no place for me to work. I then told him I had in mind for president a man whom I thought was the right one for the place, although I understood that he, Williams, did not like him.

"If you mean Bill Murray," Williams said somewhat wrathfully, "he is the only delegate in the convention I will not vote for. We haven't spoken to each other for five years."

I told him there had been no special occasion for him and Murray to speak to each other as there had been nothing for them to do, but now there was something of consequence; that he and Murray and I must work together as we all wanted the same kind of a constitution. I told him that I had worked with Murray in the Sequoyah convention and had found him honest and capable. I asked Williams not to commit himself—to wait until Murray arrived and I could have a talk with him. I told him if Murray was unwilling to give him fair consideration, I would refuse to

support him. I pointed out to him that if Murray would agree to be fair, he and I could lead the fight to make Bill president of the convention. I told him further that I did not want to be held to any promises as I might be misled into making some I could not carry out, but that I would do everything in my power to see that he secured such position in the organization as would give him a chance to achieve his ambition to assist in writing the constitution.

When Murray arrived I told him of my conversation with Williams. He was not inclined to take Williams into the organization. He said he didn't even speak to the Durant delegate. I talked to him along the lines of my conversation with Williams—that this was no time to rake up past differences; that we were there to accomplish something and we must have harmony in order to do that.

Murray agreed finally that I was right and arranged a meeting. They had no trouble harmonizing their differences and we went to work.

Oklahoma City was the metropolis of Oklahoma and a large portion of the leading men of that territory, as well as those of the Southwest Indian Territory, had business relations at that place. Very naturally there was a closer relationship among them than existed in the eastern section of the new state. Through such associations, such men as W. A. Ledbetter of Ardmore and Sam Hayes of Chickasha came to the convention pledged to Hughes. However, the Sequoyah convention had organized Indian Territory and several members of that convention. They had worked with Murray and me and were friendly to Murray's candidacy. We worked steadily and by the end of the week it began to look hopeful for us.

Sam Hayes had known Murray in Texas and would liked to have supported him but he was pledged to Hughes. He was a splendid young man and highly esteemed in Chickasha where he lived. He made a good impression on me.

By Sunday the Hughes organization began to lose heart. They felt that we were whipping them. In passing through the hotel lobby that morning I noticed Sam sitting there looking bluer than indigo. I asked him if he had bad news from home. He said, "No, but I am disappointed. I came here anxious to

make a record in the convention. It now looks as though Hughes is going to lose out. I am pledged to him and of course, cannot break my pledge. I feel sure now that your organization is going to win, and it has made me a little blue."

"Mr. Hayes," I said, "I would not ask you to break faith with Mr. Hughes. You could not afford to do that. This is just a little friendly contest in the family, and when it is over I am not going to remember it and I don't think anybody else will. I respect you for keeping your promise—and don't hesitate to come to me if ever I can be of service to you."

During our conversation Hayes said he would be glad to support Murray if it were not for his promise to Hughes. I then asked him if, in the event that Hughes got out of the race, he would support Murray as his second choice. He said he would. I secured the support of several other delegates for Murray as second choice. I thought I could foresee the time when the Cardwell crowd would drop Hughes and try to form a combination of another kind against Murray, so I secured as many second choice votes for Murray as possible.

As I had anticipated, by Sunday afternoon the Caldwell forces were looking for a candidate to break into the Murray organization. John Leahy of Pawhuska was suggested, but when John began canvassing the situation he learned that a number of strong men obligated to Hughes would go to Murray as soon as they were released.

Pete Hanraty of McAlester, president of the Federation of Labor of the two territories, was a delegate to the convention. The democratic party had made a strong appeal to the labor vote and most all of the democratic delegates had incorporated in their platforms the demand of labor. It now occured to Cardwell that delegates would not like to refuse support for president of the convention a man who was head of the labor organizations. Mr. Hanraty had not arrived yet and T. P. Gore, who afterwards was elected to the United States Senate, called him on the telephone and asked if he was a candidate for president of the convention. Hanraty said he was not. However, when he did arrive and was urged to enter the race he did so.

This was a strategic move and might have succeeded but for two things. Murray was president of the Farmers' Union of Indian Territory and for a number of years had been active and prominent in that organization. The democrats had catered just as much to the farmer vote as to the labor vote and nearly all candidates had incorporated demands of the Farmers' Union in their platforms as well as demands of organized labor. On that score the two candidates for president of the convention stood on equal terms. The second reason for the failure of the Hanraty move was the pledges I had secured out of the Cardwell forces to support Murray if Hughes withdrew from the race.

If Hughes had not been convinced that we had a majority of the delegates for Murray he never would have got out of the race. In shifting candidates the Cardwell forces lost many who had pledged themselves to Murray when they were released from pledges to Hughes.

When the democratic caucus met to name the officers of the convention Murray received 59 votes to Hanraty's 26. It had been my policy throughout the organization of the convention to so handle the situation that complete harmony would prevail in the end. Those who were associated with me took the same view of the matter and cooperated in perfecting an organization that would start the convention work in complete accord. So, when we had accomplished the election of Murray, we decided to clinch the harmony spirit by making Hanraty vice-president.

To have entered into a factional fight in the beginning of the convention could only have resulted in making it difficult to arrive at agreements in carrying out the will of the people. From a party standpoint I never did believe that election of delegates to the convention was a true index of party strength in the proposed new state. I was sure then, and time has proven that the overwhelming majority was in a large measure a protest against the abuses in government by appointees. Republicans had been in power a long time and all blame for governmental ills was laid at their door.

I believed then, as I believe now, that party success depends upon "delivering the goods" to use a slang expression; in being honest and faithful to the masses of the people. For these reasons

I felt that it was necessary to have harmony in the convention—to subordinate personal ambitions.

One of the problems of the convention was that of dividing the state into counties. Oklahoma Territory was already organized into county units, but Indian Territory was unorganized. From the calling of an election for electing delegates to the Constitutional Convention the county boundary and county seat questions, especially in Indian Territory, had been the objective in selection of delegates. It entered into the organization of the convention and was projected into selection of committees.

Royal Allen was made Chairman of the Committee on county boundaries. Delegates got to quarrelling over county seats and county boundaries and I soon saw that it would be necessary to get that question out of the way before we could accomplish the really big things of the convention. Various committees had been at work hammering into form articles and sections of the constitution. But they were hampered by this intensely selfish question of county seats and county boundaries.

We had worked along through December and it was the intention to adjourn over the Holidays. This adjournment was to be made Saturday noon before Christmas. On Thursday morning before that adjournment, Bill Murray and I were conferring before opening of the convention. We called Roy Allen in and asked him how he was getting along with the county seat and county boundary matters. He said he would not be able to make a report before Holiday recess—that it would have to go over.

To let the delegates to go back home for Holidays with the boundary question unsettled meant more trouble. So I said, "Now Roy, this won't do. We have got to have that report in and approved before recess." As a matter of fact, not a line of it had been written.

I said, "Roy, if I were on your committee and you got tired you could go to your room and lie down and the committee could remain in session." "Well," he replied, "you can do most anything."

John Wills of Miami was on that committee—I had asked Murray to put him on. I sent for him and said, "I guess I will

have to go on that county boundary committee. If you will resign I will ask Murray to appoint me in your place." He said that would be all right. I asked him to tell me what he wanted for his county; that I didn't want him to go off of the committee unless I could protect his interests. He had an easy county to make. Being in the Northeast corner of the State it was just a question of how far west and south he could go. He marked off what he thought would be right. He said it was not all that his people wanted but was all they should ask for and do justice to Vinita's interests. I told him I thought I could protect him on that and he resigned. I was appointed immediately in his place.

The county boundary committee went into session that morning—Thursday—and did not adjourn until nine-thirty Saturday morning. We had been in continuous session forty-eight hours. We marched into the convention Saturday morning and made our report without a single protest from any member of the committee. During that committee session we had made the data for the map of Oklahoma. We divided it up into seventy-five counties. We designated the temporary county seats and provided for a means of changing them by a vote of the people—and it was a mighty good plan. (We had seventy-two county seat and county boundary-line elections while I was governor and no changes were made.)

Writing out the committee report was a tremendous job and that was left to Milas Lassater. It was not completed when we were ready to report. So I went to President Murray and said, "Now, Bill, nobody can read this report but myself—in fact it isn't written yet. We have got to get this report read and adopted before noon." We were to adjourn for the Holiday recess at noon.

John Young was clerk of the convention. I told Bill that John's throat was in bad condition, and I wished he would suggest to John that he ask for the rest of the day off—and to appoint me to take his place. This was done and I read the report. Milas Lassater held the maps and assisted me. I was an expert in land descriptions and railroad surveys, and I just read off township and county lines from the maps, which took about an hour. The report was adopted wthin twenty minutes after the report was completed.

Dividing the state into counties and designating county seats was a hard thing to do because local ambition and not common sense

governed. I got members to realizing early in the convention that we could not get all we wanted—and only by a willingness to give and take could we accomplish successfully what we had been sent to do. Delegate Bob Wlliams was looking after not only his own constituents, but had espoused the causes of various other ambitious towns all the way from the Red River to the Panhandle, and he was before the committee more than any other delegate.

When we adjourned that Saturday noon the delegates returned home with the weight of local interests removed. Of course many of them met dissatisfied constituents, but in the main the people were satisfied—and the way was open for completion of the really big things—putting together the constitution.

The Enabling act provided for prohibition in Indian Territory for twenty-one years. The constitutional convention had no option —it must accept those terms. So far as Oklahoma Territory was concerned, the question of prohibition was left to be disposed of by the convention. The liquor interests were well established in that Territory, nearly every town had saloons.

The question was a big one and entered to a great extent into the campaign for the election of delegates from that section of the new state. Some of the delegates had made no pledges, while others were bound by platform pledges to support prohibition.

The liquor question has always been a vexing one in politics. Wherever political parties were nearly evenly divided, the liquor interests were sufficient to control the stuation, and which ever party yielded the most to them, secured the offices. They held the balance of power, prostituting both parties to the end that the liquor interests should have a free hand to carry on their trade.

In the Sequoyah convention we had provided for prohibition. I have always been against the liquor traffic. I have seen so many good and able men whose lives have been destroyed by liquor that I was opposed to its manufacture and sale for the reason that it does so much more harm than good. Another reason for my opposition to the liquor traffic was the evil effect it had in politics, and the administration of government. The liquor interests had no political convictions. The forces behind it gathered around them the worst elements in society and used them as the balance of power

to defeat any party that would not favor the liquor traffic. This condition had a tendency to put men in office who were influenced and even corrupted by the liquor interests. Especially was this so in a new county where the standards of society had not become fixed and law enforcement was lax.

The only ones I have ever known to receive benefits from the liquor traffic were those who manufactured and sold it, and they were so few compared to the large element that was harmed by it that its traffic could not be justified. I have always felt that if the money spent for liquor, and which did no one any good, was spent for food and clothes and for the education of children who needed these things we would have a better state and country.

I never had in mind anything but prohibition for the new state. I was willing to let the people vote on the question for I was sure Indian Territory would vote for prohibition on the ground that conditions in the new state should be uniform, and as prohibition was fixed by the enabling act in that Territory for twenty-one years people would insist that the sister territory have no advantage or disadvantage in statehood conditions. I knew there was a strong prohibition element in Oklahoma Territory, and with the two elements it would win.

Mr. Dinwiddie, who had been in Washington as the representative of the Anti-saloon League when the enabling act was passed, was now transferred to Guthrie. Rev. Sweet, Methodist Presiding Elder of Vinita, whom I had known for some time, was also in Guthrie in the interests of prohibition. He brought Dinwiddie to meet me soon after the convention convened, and we discussed the prohibition question. Sweet did not know President Murray, so he naturally came to me. They asked me to help them get representation on the prohibition committee. I asked them if they had canvassed the membership of the convention and if they had decided who they wanted on the committee. They had not done this, so I told them to give me a list of the delegates they wanted on the committee.

They came back to see me the next day and handed me a list of six or seven names. In rather emphatic language I told them that wouldn't do as there were to be fifteen members on that committee. They said they thought they would be lucky to get half of

them. I then told them not to limit themselves but to hand in the names of fifteen members whom they wanted on the prohibition committee. They went away and held another consultation and returned with a list of fifteen delegates. The next morning when Murray announced the committee it contained the names of the fifteen men on the list that Dinwiddie and Sweet had handed me. To say they were pleased is putting it mildly.

After the committee was appointed I told Dinwiddie and Sweet there would be a four weeks' session of the convention and then there would be a recess of a week or ten days over the holidays, and that I didn't want them to get in the way with prohibition until after the holiday recess. I told them to hang around and get a line on the convention, visit with the members of the prohibition committee and discuss the question with them, but not to figure on bringing up the prohibition question until after the holidays.

I told them I was going to use the intervening time in shaping county boundaries and prohibition in order to prevent trading on these two questions. I said, "The big town is apt to be for prohibition. The little town will trade prohibition or the Saviour to gratify their ambitions to become a county seat."

They said they didn't know that such a condition existed. I told them I didn't know it, but I guessed that such was the condition and I was going to act on that guess.

When the convention met again after the holiday recess, one afternoon we adjourned rather early. I was at my hotel about four o'clock when Dinwiddie and Sweet came to see me.

"We don't want you to be disappointed," they said, "over this report on prohibition, but it is the best we can do. We have swallowed our ambitions to some extent and we want you to do the same, and support this report."

"What kind of a report has the committee prepared?" I asked.

"Prohibition for Indian Territory and local option for Oklahoma," they replied.

"That is the language of the enabling act and is only the minimum of what we can have," I said. "Did the committee go back on you?"

"Oh, No!" Dinwiddie replied, "but we want to be fair with the committee."

"Now look here Sweet," I said, "let's not waste any time. I won't support your report. I am here for statewide prohibition when we reach that question and you know it. I am not asking you what you think you can get from this convention. I know what you can get. Just tell me right quick what you would like to have."

"Statewide prohibition," they replied.

The trouble was that Robert L. Owen was acting as advisor to the prohibition organization. The liquor interests had bluffed him into believing that they were an all-powerful force in the convention, and in turn he had convinced the whole prohibition element. Every delegate in the convention would have supported that committee report with the endorsement of Dinwiddie and Sweet and the prohibition representatives, but me.

I tore a leaf out of a pamphlet containing the enabling act where it referred to prohibition and by interlining made it read statewide prohibition. I went to Bob Williams with it. I knew he was tied up with instructions from prohibition down to the point of taking a recess. He wanted to know why I didn't let the committee report go through. I told him I was opposed to any calico constitution that makes a thing a law in one part of the state and not in the other. The constitution must be uniform, I told him, and if the people don't like it and want it different let them amend it later on, but a half black and half white constitution would make it difficult for government to function.

Williams asked me to let him introduce the substitute I had prepared, and I gave it to him.

Dinwiddie and Sweet were frightened. They thought I was about to upset a good compromise they had made, although they admitted they preferred statewide prohibition. Within three hours after they had been to see me I began to receive telegrams from ministers over the state asking me to stand by the committee report.

As I was starting to breakfast the following morning, I met

Rev. Wiley of Muskogee and Capt. A. S. McKennon of McAlester, who were waiting to see me. Captain McKennon had been a delegate to the Sequoyah convention, and had been instrumental in having prohibition written into that constitution. He was a splendid gentleman. Rev. Wiley was another of my preacher friends, and had been a member of the Sequoyah convention.

They had received telegrams from Dinwiddie and Sweet urging them to wire me to support the committee report. Before taking action they had conversed over the telephone and decided to take the night train and call on me. They said they felt that I was on the ground and was better informed on the situation, and therefore they did not feel like advising me.

We had breakfast together and I explained the situation to them. They agreed that I was right, and so far as I know were the only prohibitionists who supported me.

The committee made its report which was nothing more than the very least that could be got under the enabling act—prohibition for Indian Territory and local option for Oklahoma. Williams offered the substitute providing for statewide prohibition to be submitted to an election of all the people at the time the constitution was to be submitted for ratification. The fight was pitched on the substitute. We debated the question all day until seven o'clock that evening without an adjournment. Coffee and sandwiches were served to the delegates in the convention hall.

I knew there were men in the convention who were not prohibitionist who would vote for the substitute if it was presented properly. I argued that we were compelled by the enabling act to have prohibition in the Indian Territory for twenty-one years. I said, "suppose we write it in the constitution that way—prohibition in Indian Territory, no prohibition in Oklahoma. After the constitution is adopted and we become a state the people may want to vote on an amendment to the Constitution. Look ahead two or three years and see what will result from a campaign. You would have the prohibitionists of Indian Territory side of the state voting against an amendment. You would have the antis voting for it. All the people of Oklahoma would vote against it. Oklahoma side of the state would be against the repeal of prohibition in Indian Territory. The prohibitionists would be against the repeal on

principle. The anti's would be against it because they would be interested in having the activities of the state take place in the Oklahoma side of the state where the saloons would be located. Every convention would be held in Oklahoma City, Shawnee and Guthrie. You would not have a chance to amend the constitution. Let's make the provisions of the constitution uniform—the same for all parts of the state."

There was no use to make a prohibition argument to men who liked to have their liquor, and would ask you to wait a few minutes in your argument while they went out to get a drink. They could see the logic, however, in the argument for a uniform constitution and most of them voted for statewide prohibition.

The battle was a warm one, and was waged vigorously by both sides. President Murray came down on the floor and made a speech for the substitute. Murray was always courageous, and would express his convictions if there was not another man in the convention with him.

Williams who introduced the substitute sat through the fight without saying a word in behalf of the measure he introduced. It was the only time he was ever known to refuse to take part in debate.

IN MEMORY OF SMITH CORBIN MATSON

On May 9, 1936, pursuant to call of its President, J. C. Monett, Jr., there was held a meeting of the Oklahoma County Bar Association, in the court room of the United States Court in Oklahoma City, and memorial services were held as follows:

We, Members of the Oklahoma County Bar Association, moved by our high regard for the character and public services of the late Judge Smith C. Matson, who departed this life on the 9th of February, 1936, having assembled to pay tribute to his memory, by expressing our appreciation of one who as a citizen, lawyer, and judge has greatly honored our state, with the desire to place upon record an expression of the respect and esteem in which Judge Matson was held, and of regret for the loss which the state and the legal profession have sustained in his untimely death, therefore be it,

RESOLVED, That the Members of the Oklahoma County Bar Association feel with deep sensibility the loss which the State and the legal profession have sustained in the death of Judge Matson.

RESOLVED, That we cherish the highest respect for the high character and professional ability of the deceased; for the purity and uprightness of his official and professional life; and for the amiable and excellent qualities which belonged to him as a man; and we mourn his death as that of an eminent citizen of Oklahoma whose name will fill a prominent place in the history of the State.

RESOLVED, That we deeply sympathize with his relatives and friends in their bereavement, and that this memorial be presented to the Criminal Court of Appeals with the request that the same be entered on its record and be published in the reports.

Smith Corbin Matson was born at Greencastle, Ind., on September 23, 1872, and died at Oklahoma City, February 9, 1936. The Matson family was prominent for several generations in the political affairs of Indiana. His father, Courtland Cushing Matson was born in Franklin County, Ind., was graduatd from the Indiana Asbury (now Depew) university in 1862; enlisted as a volunteer, served through the Civil War and was promoted to the rank of Colonel; was admitted to the bar and commenced practice at

Greencastle, was three times elected prosecuting attorney. Made chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee in 1878; elected as a democrat to the Forty-Seventh and the three succeeding congresses (March 4, 1881—March 3, 1889); unsuccessful Democratic Candidate for Governor of Indiana in 1888; died September 4, 1915. Judge Matson's paternal grandfather was democratic candidate for governor of Indiana in 1849.

Judge Matson graduated from Depew university, studied law and was on September 23, 1893, his 21st birthday, admitted to the bar, and commenced practice in Greencastle. In 1896 he was appointed deputy prosecutor for the 13th Judicial district, served four years, and was then elected prosecuting attorney for the district; after serving four years he retired to private practice with his father. In 1906 he moved to Ardmore, Indian Territory and there engaged in the practice of the law. Following the first state election he served as assistant county attorney of Carter county. April 11, 1910 he received his first appointment as assistant attorney general, and occupied this position until he took his seat on the Appellate Bench.

On April 19, 1917, Governor Williams appointed Judge Matson as Member of the Criminal Court of Appeals, to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Judge Rutherford Brett. He was elected to succeed himself and served the term expiring January 1925. His opinions are found in Volumes 13 to 29 inclusive of the Oklahoma Criminal reports. They are the enduring evidence of intellectual excellence. In them his innate sense of justice and his convincing logic appear at their best, they will remain as his living monument. At the expiration of his term he resumed the practice of law at Oklahoma City. On November 1, 1925, he was again appointed assistant attorney general and continued in that office until the day of his death.

Judge Matson was married to Janie Gwin, June 7, 1911, a talented lady who departed this life on the ninth day of March, 1932[1]. No children were born to them.

Judge Matson was a member of the State and County Bar Associations, a 32nd degree Mason, a Member of the Elks Lodge, and

[1]Mrs. Smith C. Matson, an appreciation by Mrs. Cora. C. Miley, see Vol. 10, No. 2. Chronicles of Oklahoma, page 287.

a member of the Phi Delta Theta College fraternity. He is survived by one brother, Rees F. Matson, and one sister, Mrs. Nell Brown, and her daughter, Beatrice.

Such is the brief outline of a busy, well-spent life.

Thos. H. Doyle, Chairman,
J. Berry King,
Mac Q. Williamson,

Committee.

After the reading of the resolutions the Chairman of the committee moved their adoption and addressed the assembly as follows:

We are assembled today in this Hall of Justice to honor his memory; to pay tributes of friendship, respect and esteem to his character and worth as a citizen, and for those qualities that made him conspicuous as a lawyer and Judge.

Personally I had the good fortune to know him for more than a quarter of a century as a friend; professionally, as a practicing attorney and as assistant attorney general. For eight years he was one of my associates in the performance of the arduous and highly responsible duties which the constitution and laws devolve upon the Criminal Court of Appeals. In his last two years of service he was Presiding Judge. No Judge ever had more respect for his associates.

The best evidence of a lawyer's ability is the judgment of his professional brethren.

I think that I express the general sense of the profession in saying for myself, that I have never known a lawyer or Judge more learned in criminal jurisprudence.

From whatever point of view we look back upon Judge Matson's professional career in Oklahoma, it must be conceded that for the remarkable length of his official life and for the public importance of his judicial labors and the vast extent of his services in the legal department of the state, few lawyers and Judges, if any, have higher claim to eminence, and his judicial service is worthy of far more elaborate consideration than this occasion will

admit. I am proud to say that no one has a higher estimate of one whose friendship was an honor of my life. He was a born gentleman and he was as good an American as ever lived. Always doing his duty as he saw it and seeking no particular credit he indulged no consciousness of superiority, incapable of arrogance, he exhausted himself in service to the state, a martyr in fidelity to duty.

Another time at a session of the court of which he was an honored member, we hope to do greater justice to his memory and his name.

NOTES

THAT FIRST TELEPHONE

E. D. Hicks, in Vol. 12, *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* September 1934, wrote the "Story of the Telephone in Oklahoma." Mr. Hicks is without question the pioneer telephone man of Oklahoma. In 1886 he organized a company and constructed a telephone line from Tahlequah to Muskogee via Ft. Gibson. This was Oklahoma's first commercial telephone. In the September 1933 number of the Chronicles, page 887, there is published an item from the *Cheyenne Transporter,* August 30, 1884, concerning a telephone line from Ft. Reno on the south side of the North Canadian to the Darlington Indian agency on the north side of the river and more than two miles from Ft. Reno. This was three years before Elijah Hicks built his line out of Tahlequah. But from evidence the United States Army made use of the telephone from Ft. Sill to Ft. Reno three years before it was used in talking from Ft. Reno to the Darlington Agency.

On Sunday, May 17, Mr. Claude E. Hensley and the writer paid a visit to the home of James McGranahan who lives on his farm near Piedmont, Canadian County. Mr. McGranahan is one of the very few men now living who was in the government service on the frontier in that period just after the close of the Civil war. His mind is clear and his recollection of the many stirring events is very distinct. He said that in 1879 and 1880 he was assistant wagon master stationed at Ft. Sill. Only a short time before, the war department had put in a telegraph line, stringing the wires on iron posts, between Ft. Sill and Ft. Reno. The telephone was invented in 1876, and the government soon afterwards made some practical experiments with it by using the telegraph wires. Mr. McGranahan says he remembers hearing the regimental band playing at Ft. Reno over this telephone hook-up while he was at Ft. Sill nearly 100 miles distant. This was in the fall of 1879 or early spring of 1880. It caused much excitement among the listeners at Ft. Sill.

FIRST POSTMASTER AT OKLAHOMA

Mr. James McGranahan was at one time postmaster at Oklahoma, but it was before Oklahoma was opened to settlement. Most all Oklahoma histories state that G. A. Beidler was the first postmaster, but there had been two postmasters at the Oklahoma station before the proclamation of the president opening Oklahoma, April 22, 1889. Mr. McGranahan had been commissioned postmaster in the fall of 1888—relieving N. S. Rodabuagh who had been the first commissioned postmaster at the Oklahoma station on the A.T. and S.F. Railroad. Mr. McGranahan said that the mail to Ft. Reno, Darlington Cantonment and Silver City on the South Canadian was all distributed from the Oklahoma office. He turned the post office over to G. A. Beidler at 10 a. m., Sunday, April 21, 1889.

Mr. James McGanahan has presented to the Oklahoma Historical Society the letter stamp used by him here at the Oklahoma Post Office before the opening.

This cancellation stamp used by postmaster James McGranahan until 10 a. m. Sunday, April 21, 1889, at which time he turned the office over to G. A. Beidler.

WAR BOW—POET—PHILOSOPHER AND FARMER

In the records of the Indian tribes now in the Oklahoma Historical Society, being indexed and classified by WPA workers under supervision of Mrs. Rella Watts, the following poetical effusion written by a full-blood Indian was found:

"Honorable Commissioner, Indian Affairs, Cato Sells, he say this way: 'The farming season is at hand. Every farmer should at once become actively engaged in advising and teaching the

Indians how to prepare the soil, the kind of seed to select, when and how to plant, grow and harvest, and the best use to be made of his crop when produced.'

"War Bow hear what chief, Mr. Sells, say and heap catch it idea.

WAR BOW HEAP FARM

By War Bow, Blanket Indian,
Colony, Oklahoma.

War Bow think he goin' to farm;
Like country life, got heap of charm;
He goin' to raise it, plenty corn;
Will heap much plow in early morn.

Go in pasture an' catch up poney,
Use curry comb till horse look toney;
Throw on harness, give strap quick jerk,
Heap strong push and get to work.

Heap plant kafir corn and milo,
Raise plenty feed to fill big silo;
Have nice sleek horse an' big fat cow,
Goin' watch white man an' heap learn how.

An', may-be-so, at Indian fair;
War Bow say, "me sure be there,
You bet me take'm lots of prize,
Goin' show it punkin, biggest size."

An' white man, no more goin' to say
"Indian can't make farmin' pay"
'Cause War Bow show how Indian can
Just same like neighbor, smart white man.

BOOK REVIEW

The Western Military Frontier, 1815—1846, by Henry Putney Beers, Philadelphia, 1935.

The line of military posts that developed from the Great Lakes to the Red River performed an invaluable duty in protecting both the Indians and the whites in the years that followed the War of 1812. The forts that were established in the North had as their chief purpose the defenese of the white settlers from the depredations of the Indians of that region. In the South, however, the forts came into existence more to protect the Indians from the whites, and other Indians, than for any other purpose.

Numerically, the western military garrisons were ridicuously weak. In effectiveness, the army overcame the handicap of size, but only after it had received severe punishment by Indians in the old Northwest in the period prior to the War of 1812.

The United States pursued a policy of constructing many small military posts on its frontiers rather than a few large ones. The list of forts founded between 1783 and 1846, which the author appends to his study convinces the reader that the army must have been almost constantly engaged in constructing posts. There are 148 forts listed. The value of many of them disappeared a year or two following their establishment, making it necessary to move the garrisons west to keep abreast of the settlers.

One of the many interesting facts brought to light in Mr. Beers' work is the statement that the U. S. Army had only four chaplains following the War of 1812, and these were discontinued in 1821. The office of chaplain was not revived until 1838!

Mr. Beers, who wrote this as his doctoral dissertation before the Graduate School of the University of Pennsylvania, is to be commended for his excellent bibliography. It is admirably arranged, and the original source material authoritative.

Succinctness of style, while a requisite in every writer who has extensive materials to digest, in this particular work leaves the casual reader somewhat exhausted. There are so many interesting

events described one after the other in rapid succession that it is necessary to stop frequently to allow the mind to absorb them.

To a student of Oklahoma history it is difficult to uncover errors. The only one that can be detected is the mislocation of Fort Towson on the two maps. Oklahoma's southern fort is placed approximately thirty-five miles east of its actual location.

Mr. Beers' dissertation is particularly helpful in connection with the various events that accompanied the extension of the military frontier. Too often writers fail to appreciate the interrelation of the problems that faced the army in the Northwest and the South.

—Howard F. Van Zandt

Wharton, Clarence

Santanta: The Great Chief of The Kiowas And His People. (Dallas: Banks, Upshaw and Company, 1935, 239 p.)

In a small, most readable volume, Clarence Wharton has presented an interesting account of Satanta, leader of the Kiowas. Judge Wharton writes consistently well, with a vividness of style in portraying events that make their significance at once apparent. The only misleading thing about the book is its secondary title: "The Great Chief of the Kiowas And His People." A particularly engaging feature of the book is the selective interpretation done by the author (viz. pages 8, 11, 26, 63, 86, etc.). The reader feels that he can have the utmost confidence in the selection and affirmation of the facts presented by Mr. Wharton.

The first chapter of the book features an incident that occurred in 1866, when Satanta was almost sixty years of age. It shows why Satanta could say—"I was not born a chief, I won it and hold it with this right arm." Chapter two concerns the Legend of the Kiowas. It adds little to general knowledge of the tribe. The next chapter discusses General Leavenworth's expedition into the land of the Kiowas. The remaining five chapters deal more specifically with the Kiowas under Satanta's leadership in the late 60's and early 70's. The vain, boasting Satanta is shown as a persuasive orator among the Plains Tribes. He

knew his power and its limitations. Past master at deceit, he was victimized by his own vanity, when his boasting, in the presence of the Quaker Agent Lawrie Tatum, led to his incarceration, along with other Kiowa leaders.

May 18, 1871, Satanta had led an expedition into Texas, surrounded a wagon-train and killed seven of the teamsters. During the regular term of district court at Jacksboro in July, Satanta and Big Tree were tried for murder. The trial of two savage Indians, by regular court procedure, was unique in the annals of the Southwest. They were found guilty and were sentenced to be hanged. Satanta, in a speech in his own defence at the trial said, ". . . . . if you kill me, it will be like a spark in the prairie —make big fire—burn heap!"

Governor Davis of Texas foresaw the truth of that statement, so he commuted the sentences of Satanta and Big Tree to life imprisonment at Huntsville. In 1873, Satanta enjoyed a brief parole and he returned to the Kiowa reservation, but the next year, he was back in prison. He hoped for a release, but none came. In October, 1876, Satanta committed suicide.

The author gathered his material from varied sources and drew upon the shrinking volume of personal recollections. The book is well indexed. There is no segregated bibliography.

There are, however, small blemishes in an otherwise capable presentation of the life of Satanta and his times. President Jefferson did not send Livingston and Monroe to France in 1801 to buy territory (p. 37). McIntosh was a Creek leader (p. 38), not a Choctaw; Fort Leavenworth was not established on the Arkansas River (p. 39). Occasional anachronisms upset the reader. Many reminiscences and comments add little to the continuity of the story.

Despite these minor digressions, the book is a studious work of art and research. The value of the entire work is greatly increased by the excellent photogravures with the contemporary drawings from the Kiowa Calendar History. The general make-up of the work is a distinct compliment to the craftsmanship of Banks, Upshaw and Company. —J. S. C.

ADDRESSES DELIVERED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

We publish in this issue of the Chronicles the minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society held at Enid April 30 and May 1, 1936.

This meeting was in every way a success without one discordant event to impair the pleasure of the occasion. Great credit is due the commttee at Enid, headed by Sen. Harry O. Glasser and George Rainey, for the harmonious arrangements made for the meeting and for the successful carrying out of every detail of the program. It was indeed a reunion of those men and women who had helped make the history of Northwest Oklahoma, including "No Man's Land." It was fortunate that the speakers had had first hand knowledge of the subjects assigned to them and were not dependent for source material upon books or the stories told by others. The members, and visitors as well, were taken by the committee on an excursion to points of interest in Northwestern Oklahoma, including the historic Salt Plains and that natural phenomenon the Sand Dunes, as well as the Gloss Mountains. The historical society party were fortunate in having Dr. Chas. N. Gould, one of the foremost authorities on geology and kindred scientific subjects. He made several short but instructive speeches concerning these unusual formations. His talks were made out in the open, and we are sorry that we have no copy that we can publish.

The Chronicles is fortunate to be able to publish some of these historical speeches made by the real pioneers of Northwest Oklahoma.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

The following is the address of welcome delivered by Mr. George Rainey, the author of the "History of the Cherokee Strip."

Mr. President, members of the State Historical Society and visiting friends:

Enid and all northwest Oklahoma are happy to-day at the

coming to the metropolis of the Old Cherokee Outlet the painstaking researchers, the delvers into the historic past, and the preservers of the colorful annals of this wonderful state. We do not merely, in a perfunctory way, bid you welcome. That word is too trite for this occasion. We meet you and greet you with a genuine gladness. You who have come hither have again evinced that long-sustained interest which, from the early days of our commonwealth, has not flagged. To you and such as you, our people owe a debt of gratitude, and future generations will join in giving thanks to your memory, for passing on to them that which but for you would have been lost.

The true historian seeks to be exact, unbiased, and faithful to the truth; for history is but the preservation of the records of truth, the enemy of oblivion; the witness of the past and director of the future. Wherefore, it is esteemed an honor to welcome into our midst a group of earnest men and women in whom those qualities of character abound. Nothing save error need fear the historian.

Patrick Henry said: "I have no lamp by which my feet are guided but the lamp of experience." He might well have added: "and the experience of generations gone before," for history is a voice coming down to us through the centuries.

All too few read history; fewer study it, and yet fewer are guided by its warnings. It is a singular truth that most of the makers of history, the good and the bad, found themselves too busy to write it. The story of the Man whose short life wrought a revision of the calendars and changed a world was left wholly to others.

All written history is but fragments salvaged from the deluge of time. Millions of events which have profoundly influenced mankind in the forward and backward waves of civilization were never recorded and are lost in oblivion. Yet, happily, in all ages since the invention of letters, there have been faithful souls who, scanning monuments, peering into ruins, old records, tales and traditions, have recovered and preserved, somewhat, the momentous facts of the past. Thanks to those who have thus gathered up the tangled threads of history and woven them into a beautiful and complete fabric.

Written history is comparatively modern; but God has written the story of the works of his hands on earth, ineffaceably in the everlasting hills and the eternal rocks. This record is faithful and true; and is that uncontradicting volume whose scattered pages reveal its wonderful truths to the geologist.

One common characteristic of historians is that they give little thought to pecuniary results of their work. Theirs is the enjoyment of their own labors; and to the products of their unselfish toil must future generations turn for their knowledge of events preceding their existence.

Oklahoma abounds in historic interest. Hardly a square mile of its area is there without its historic experience. Out here in the wheat bowl are many more marks of interest and historic importance than we shall be able to show you during your brief sojourn among us, which we know will be all too brief. You are now within a furlong of the famous Chisholm Trail, along which, in the decade following 1867, no fewer than sixty million hoofs from Texas crackled, and trampled into flour-like dust the soil now veneered with paving and with piles of brick and mortar to the height of twelve and fifteen stories. What cowboy of Texas Trail Driver, as he lolled in his saddle while trailing his herd through the site of this beautiful city, ever cast his eyes heavenward and saw, in fancy and miragic imagery, a Youngblood Hotel, a Bass Building or a Broadway Tower?

We shall take a pilgrimage to the Great Salt Plain where, it is expected, we shall hear our beloved and faithful geologist, Dr. Gould, relate to us some of the wonders of that mysterious expanse which we might consider a second creation. We shall see the sand dunes of the Cimarron and the Gloss Mountains, two more wonders of the gigantic forces of enduring time. We shall visit the famous Buffalo Springs, where many thousands of longhorns and hundreds of weary travelers and freighters, long before the days of the railroad, slaked their thirst and rested their tired bodies. We shall see the spot where poor Pat Hennessey fell and where his wounded and burned body was laid in 1874 in the suburbs of the thriving little city to the south which commemorates his bravery and perpetuates his name. All these are in easy reach of the place of our present meeting.

Had we the time and the distance were not too great, we could visit Old Fort Nichols which, owing to the limited geographical knowledge of its founder, the redoubtable hero, Kit Carson, is listed in the records as being in New Mexico, but which, in fact, is in our own Oklahoma. We would also gaze on Black Mesa, that once molten stream of black lava, six hundred feet high, three miles in width, stretching its serpent-like form from Carizzo Creek in Oklahoma where it appears as in the act of drinking from its waters, to its tail seventy-five miles away in Colorado, another of the world's wonders, here in Oklahoma. But for this time, we must forego these two pleasures. But we trust that Enid and its citizens shall so abundantly show their appreciation of your coming among us for this 1936 annual meeting, that you will come again and further enjoy the historic sights in northwest Oklahoma.

RESPONSE TO ADDRESS OF WELCOME

The response on behalf of the Oklahoma Historical Society, to the address of welcome, was given by Dr. Joseph B. Thoburn speaking as substitute for Dr. Grant Foreman who was unable to be present. Dr. Thoburn delivered a very interesting and appropriate address on this occasion.

THE JESSE CHISHOLM TRAIL

By O. E. Brewster, Secy-Treas. The C. S. C. P. A.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Historical Society of Oklahoma: I need not tell you how happy I am at this opportunity you have given me, for as I can recall it, no other Cow Puncher, Ranch and Trail Cook, has ever been promoted to such a high position.

Now it is not given to all of us to have lived on the frontier of civilization their three score and ten, and have experienced the rapid development from the primitive to the sublime and witness the development of a vast virgin territory to the justly proud State of Oklahoma, but this has been my lot as Pioneer, as Cow Boy, and 89er in Old Oklahoma. It seems but yesterday when as a mere lad my sister, Mrs. Cora Fox of Marshall, Oklahoma, and I gathered

buffalo bones from the prairies of the "Strip" hauling them to Wellington, Kan., for the stupendous sum of $7.00 per ton and buying our first real "store clothes."

The subject assigned me this evening on this program is the Chisholm Trail.

On this subject, I have spent much time for several years in gathering all the available data possible, and have the testimony from trail drivers and cow men who had driven the "Texas Long Horns" to the northern markets from 1867 to 1893.

The facts of all this research, to state it briefly establishes the facts, that during this period of time it is estimated that over ten million of the Texas "Long horns" were driven principally over the Eastern or Abeline trail, and in later years of the drive, over the Western or Dodge City trail.

Tonight I desire to place emphasis on the Eastern or Jesse Chisholm Trail, and for this purpose will here introduce two main facts, viz: The map and survey by the Cherokee Nation in 1883 and which it will be noticed, that the quarantine lands were set aside both along the Chisholm and the Western trails and also at the shipping points of Kiowa, Caldwell and Hunnewell, Kans.

In my research I have determined the following facts.

Jesse Chisholm made his first trip from Leavenworth to Anadarko in 1865 and later in 1869 this Freight Trail was extended to Ft. Sill. The same year the Southern drives started from Wichita, Kans., on to Abeline, Kans.

The best I can conclude is, that the Texas drovers so named the Chisholm Trail as such from the fact they would intersect the Freight trail at Red Fork, now Dover, Oklahoma, and would follow that route on to Abeline, Kansas.

The Texas Trail Drivers in a Resolution passed in 1930 stated clearly that, "The Chisholm Trail started at Red River Station and that there never was a Chisholm Trail in Texas."

Now if as Mr. Geo. Rainey says in his History of the Cherokee Strip, that "Jesse Chisholm departed this life in 1868" it is very obvious that he died ignorant of the Western or Dodge City Trail.

Now many millions of Texas "Long Horns" were driven over this route in later years which makes it equally famous as a Trail.

I would call your attention to the fact that Jesse Chisholm was not a cattleman or drover but was an Indian trader, guide and scout and never engaged in the cattle business.

To be brief, I consider the March issue of the Chronicles and report by Mr. S. H. Tennant has been the final chapter on this much mooted question and merits the gratitude of all Trail Drivers.

The report and complete survey of both the Eastern and also the Western Cattle Trails which has been so thoroughly done by Engineer H. S. Tennant and which to my mind is the Final Brief and leaves no further need of discussion.

When I stand with bared head in the sacred "Shrine," the Alamo, in San Antonio, Texas and visualize the bravery of that daring band of patriots who perished to the last man, in its defense, I am filled with awe and reverence.

When at Santa Fe, New Mexico, and read the history of the pioneers who traveled that way in the Rush of 49, I am filled with reverence and humility, and my heart goes out in gratitude to those, whoever they may be, who have been so foresighted in marking these sacred spots of frontier history in order to keep that memory alive.

Whenever I go through the Society Museum at Oklahoma City and see the amazing array of historical data being assembled by the Society it all fills me with gratitude, and I thank you every one for your labor and sacrifice in preserving the traditions and history of Oklahoma, and tonight I know whether you agree with me or not, we are assembled on hallowed ground.

You may wonder why the Old Time Cow Boy is so deadly in earnest in marking for all time this famous "Cattle Highway of the Long Horns" now, while we who have been spared are yet alive.

It is because we shared the same experiences and dangers of driving the long horns, swimming the muddy boiling rivers and driving the herds to the northern markets during the 70's and 80's.

That experience has bound us in a brotherhood that will last all our lives, for we can never forget those days.

Will I ever forget the crossing of Red River, the Washita and the South Canadian, North Canadian and the Cimarron rivers, those muddy boiling rivers we had to swim the herds across?

How we tore flour sacks into strips, and with case knife we corked the wagon bed and made it serve as a boat, by lashing the running gears to the bed, taking off the lead team, three cow boys with ropes on wagon tongue, one to two cow boys with ropes over wagon bed to swim up stream and prevent it from rolling over in the swift current. Then we were ready to burst that muddy boiling river.

If we hit a sand bar or made the crossing quick enough or before the wagon bed shipped too much water all would be O. K.

Sometimes it would take two days to get our outfit across and no hogs ever came from a wallow muddier than we would be.

Not only high water tried our nerves but a long period of rainy weather with everything wet and soggy, water squashing in our boots, cattle hard to hold and after the storm finally broke and the sun shone again we spread our blankets to dry.

Now repeat this above experience many times during the drivnig season and you will see how the cow boys earned their wages.

Then these "Long Horns" had a very wicked habit of putting on a show of their own in the stampedes which would try the nerves of the bravest.

Then in those days we were always apprehensive of Indian outbreaks and the Indians knowing our helplessness would demand "Wohaws" or beef plenty, and it was better to give them "Wohaws" than to have them stampede our herds. Why, on some trips on both the Eastern and the Western trails the demand for Wohaws was so great that it would almost exhaust our supply of "Mavericks" before reaching the Cherokee Strip ranges.

Would you think it easy to forget the swimming the long horn herds across the Cimarron River just below the mouth of Johns Creek during the season of 1883 which we did 23 times that year?

Wouldn't you think that memory would last? I do and so do all other cowards who had no better sense.

Will I ever forget the exact spot where the charred remains and burned wagon irons lay beside the trail clearly indicating where brave Pat Hennessey was tied to his wagon and burned to death, and how we of the trail and freighters as well would bring rocks to mark the spot. I do not forget.

Will I ever forget near the crossing on Washita River when the Indians came to our camp and demanded "'Wohaws," and I in sign language told them falsely that "Wohaw Chief had gone to Ft. Reno not be back for three suns." Well I had plenty of cause to regret for after they had taken the wohaws by force they returned 42 in number and played "Cat and mouse" with me by taking their knives and lifted my hair as though to scalp me. It made me nervous, but I wasn't scared much, but I have never wanted to repeat the act.

And another time at or near old Cantonement where our herd was stampeded by the Indians and the Indians grabbed my leaders and run me, chuck wagon and all into a large stockade where I was made prisoner for two days and nights until the U. S. troops came to our rescue and the squaws and papooses kept me awake by throwing rocks and arrows at me whenever I showed myself.

Another memory still lingers as to the many times I have filled my water barrels at the Government Springs here in Enid, drove my four horse team and chuck wagon back on the Chisholm Trail over the very center of this city, when this was only waving grass land prairie.

Now Jesse Chisholm never dreamed that civilization would locate the envied City of Enid directly on the Jesse Chisholm freight and cattle trail, neither did I.

At the annual reunion at 101 Ranch 1930 where were assembled 103 of the old cow boys, we passed a resolution that was unanimous that the Chisholm trail crossed Red River at Red River Station and followed North almost with 81 Highway and everyone agreed that the trail passed directly over the square here in Enid.

We at that time thought it would be fine if the Legislature of

Oklahoma could be induced to take steps to mark the trails of Oklahoma.

They later did and House Bill 149 was the result which did command the State Highway Department to survey and map both the Eastern and the Western trails.

This has been done on paper very fine but as yet Tuttle, Oklahoma, though but a small town has a splendid marker on the trail which would be a credit to a much larger town.

On October last or Oct. 24th I presented the Buffalo Hide Memorial and Roster of the C. S. C. P. Association to the Society who graciously consented to furnish suitable case and preserve for all time.

In behalf of our Association of members yet living and in behalf of the gold stars of our members who have crossed the Great Divide, I sincerely thank the Historical Society.

Now as I explained at that time we were too weak and our members decimated by death, that we could not of course case and preserve the Memorial, neither could we do more than sponsor the marking of the old Chisholm Trail, that is so dear to the memory of all Old Time Cow Boys.

I would like at this time to appeal to the State of Oklahoma; To the Historical Society; to the fine towns on 81 Highway that some way be found to mark forever one of the most historical cattle Highways ever known.

Our hope is that it be done quickly as possible that we who are yet spared may see and know.

And now in closing I will direct my remarks directly to the most favored City of Enid on 81 highway in the Cherokee Strip.

Our days on Cow Boy Hill will soon be over and it would be futile to hope to leave any evidence or marker of the fine gatherings and happy days spent there on our camp ground, since 1920.

Now I will offer a suggestion and you of Enid may if you will, consider it a Cow Boy Prayer.

Won't you please find a way to build a monument to the

founder of the trail, and also dedicate it to the C. S. C. P. A. as the LAST STAND OF THE LONG HORNS.

This is our prayer.

WHEN PRINTING WAS A HAZARDOUS CALLING

By Grant Harris

First typesetter in the Cherokee Strip.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

When I was asked to speak before this meeting about my experiences with Captain Payne at Rock Falls, I wondered what I could say that would be of interest to you, for while the boomers were making history all right, life in the camp at the time was pretty dull and uninteresting. There was not much to do and the boomers spent a good deal of their time under the shade of the trees and in the printing office discussing what the officials at Washington and the cattlemen would do.

It is almost exactly 52 years ago, early in May, 1884, when I and two other printers, Will Cunningham and Harry Felton, rode into Rock Falls from Caldwell where he had been working. We had heard that Captain Payne was looking for a printer and it was partly to see the sights and the prospect of a job that had taken us there. The first thing that attracted our attention when we dismounted in front of the printing office was a proclamation tacked on the door. It was printed on heavy bond paper about 17x22 inches in size and was signed by Henry M. Teller, secretary of the interior. Among other things it said that anyone who printed or assisted in printing a paper on the Cherokee Strip would be guilty of trespass and subject to a fine of from $100 to $500 and imprisonment from one to five years. When we read that we immediately lost interest in a job in that particular printing office, and began looking around for amusement.

But someone had told Captain Payne there were some printers in the camp and he looked us up and asked us if we wanted work. We told him that we were not looking for trouble nor did we want to break into the penitentiary. He insisted that there was not a bit

of danger; that the government was just bluffing and even if we were arrested all they would do would be to take us out of the territory. He said he would pay any one of us $25 a week and board if we would go to work. We asked for a little time to consider the matter for $25 a week and board was big wages for a printer in those days.

We finally decided to make him the propostion that if he would employ the three of us at those wages we would go to work. No sooner was the offer made he pulled out a roll of bills, counted out $25 for each of us and said: "You are all hired and I want to get out a paper Wednesday."

The printing office was the only frame building in town. It was on the highest point in the camp, just south of the Chisholm trail where it crossed the Chicaskia river and a short way south of the falls. The equipment consisted of an old Washington hand press, but the type was all new and in the packages as they came from the type foundry.

It was necessary for some of us to return to Caldwell to return the horses and get our belongings and Cunningham and Felton were chosen to go and I stayed at the camp. Sunday afternoon I laid the type in the cases and the next morning put an editorial in type that Captain Cooper, the editor, had already prepared. That was the first type ever set on the Cherokee Strip. The other two printers could not get used to that proclamation and only stayed a week or two, but I stayed until the soldiers arrested us and drove the boomers from the strip.

There was no amusement and not much work to do and time hung pretty heavy on our hands. However, there was occasionally a little excitement caused by wild rumors that got started somewhere, but they always turned out to be just rumors. Sometimes it was the Indians that were going to drive us out; other times it was the cattlemen, but most frequently it was the soldiers. One such incident that I distinctly remember was when the report came in that a bunch of young Indians had gone on the war path and would attack us. The officers of the company took enough stock in the tale that guards were posted and everybody was more or less uneasy. About 9:30 that night a noise was heard on the south side of the river near the ford. It was plain that there was quite a party

there and soon camp fires were burning and it could be seen that they were Indians. While they did not look very warlike, few people slept very sound that night and when morning came and it was discovered it was a party of Indians with their squaws and papooses on their way to Wichita after supplies there was a distinct feeling of relief.

Captain Payne was ruler of the camp and enjoyed the confidence of his followers to a remarkable degree. He was not an orator, as I remember it, but could sway a crowd at will. He was a typical frontiersman and usually carried two .45 revolvers in holsters. One of these was an ivory-handled .45 that had been given to him by the citizens of Abilene for some outstanding service while he was marshal and had more than 50 names of the donors engraved upon it. He was said to be the best pistol shot in the west after wild Bill Hickock was killed. He was a natural leader, but a poor business man. Anyone with a hard luck story could get anything he had and when he gave money to a person he immediately forgot all about it unless the other person mentioned it. On the other hand, if he borrowed money he forgot that just as readily and felt hurt if the other party to the transaction tried to collect. His books were in bad shape and one day he asked me if I would help him with them, and from that time until the end most of my evenings were spent in his tent. A membership fee of $10 was charged to join the colony and there was also a surveying fee of $3. If a man wanted to join the colony and did not have all the money the captain would take what he had and tell him he could pay the rest at a later date, but the chances were he would make no memorandum of the transaction at the time and that night when he went to put it on the books had probably forgotten the man's name and the amount he had paid. Nearly every evening he would have more money than he could account for and would have it credited to "miscellaneous receipts." If someone claimed he had not received proper credit he would be credited with what he claimed he had paid and the amount deducted from the miscellaneous receipts.

In the evenings while at Captain Payne's tent I met many interesting people who came to consult him. Among them I remember a Cherokee chief—I forget his name—and a Cherokee lawyer named Duncan. They rode up to the camp one afternoon

and dismounted in front of the Captain's tent. Duncan said: "Captain, we beliefe you are honest in your belief that the Cherokee Strip is government land subject to pre-emption, and we have come to convince you that you are wrong." "If you can do that," the captain replied, "I will stick my tail between my legs and get going and never stop until I reach the state line." The visitors came into the tent and for an hour argued the merits of their contentions, but naturally no one was convinced, but they expressed good will when they left. Captain Payne told them that the strip had been set aside by congress for the Cherokees as an outlet to the hunting grounds to the west so that they would not be compelled to cross any other Indian reservation, but had never been ceded to them, and that as the strip was not used any more for that purpose it naturally reverted to the government and was subject to homestead entry. That was the foundation of the whole boomer movement.

Other prominent people I remember were M. M. Murdock, editor of the Wichita Eagle; Dan R. Anthony, of the Leavenworth Times; J. K. Hudson, of the Topeka Capital, and Morrison Mumford, editor of the Kansas City Times, all of whom did valiant service in the boomer cause and were largely instrumental in forcing the government to open not only the Cherokee Strip, but all of Oklahoma to settlement.

After many false alarms the soldiers finally came. They surrounded the camp and details of negro soldiers made the arrests of the officials of the company and lined up the boomers and headed them for Kansas. They came to the printing office and arrested Captain Cooper and myself and loaded the printing outfit into a government wagon. Then they started for Captain Payne's tent. He was standing at the door of his tent with a six-shooter in each hand. Before the negro sergeant could say anything the captain said: "No damned nigger can arrest me. If you open your mouth to give an order I will blow your head off." The sergeant evidently believed he would do as he said and told a soldier to go after Lieutenant Day, who was in command. The lieutenant came and Captain Payne handed him his guns and surrendered.

I have been asked many times what became of the printing plant after the soldiers confiscated it, but I do not know. How-

ever, many years afterwards a negro janitor on the Kansas City Star told me he had been in the regular army and was one of soldiers that drove the boomers out of the Strip. I asked him if he knew what was done with the printing plant and he said it and a lot of other stuff the soldiers took at the camp was thrown into the Cimarron River when they crossed it at what was then known as Red Fork, but is now Dover. I am inclined to believe that that is the way it was disposed of.

Six of us, as I remember it, were arrested—Captain Payne, the two Couch brothers, Captain Cooper, the surveyor, whose name I forget, and myself—and the rest of the boomers were lined up and headed for Kansas. After the last of the boomers had been lined up and started on their way the officer in command sent for me. "You were the printer?" he asked. I said that I was. "Can't you read? Didn't you see that proclamation on the door?" he demanded.

I answered in the affirmative to both questions and he demanded: "Then why did you go to work."

"Lieutenant," I said, "I was working in Caldwell for $7 a week and board, and the difference in salary looked larger to me than the proclamation." He laughed and said: "If I turn you loose how long will it take you to get to the state line?"

"About 15 minutes if you will give me my pony."

He ordered a soldier to bring my pony and as I mounted he said: "Good bye, and see if you can't beat that 15 minutes a little."

C. P. WICKMILLER'S RECOLLECTIONS OF DAVID L. PAYNE AS OFFICIAL PHOTOGRAPHER IN THE EXPEDITION OF 1883

In 1882 I had the pleasure of meeting W. H. Osburn, then Secretary of Payne's Oklahoma Colony. He persuaded me to become the photographer for the Payne's expedition into Oklahoma, February, 1883.

The last day of January, I had first outdoor sleep in camp,

just South of Arkansas City, Kansas. I will never forget lying there, looking at the stars. A little after 3 a. m., I awoke with about three inches of snow on me. It did not take me long to start my first camp fire, and the blizzard was on. We drove over the Salt Fork on ice with 133 prairie schooners. We camped one day in the dry bed of Deer Creek. Everything was one mass of ice. While making the first picture crossing the line into Oklahoma, my hands froze so in a short time I had soft hands. Camping with temperature below zero was no fun for a tenderfoot.

One eve Captain Payne gave us a good talk. I can only remember, "Boys, if we do nothing else, we are making History." It was so.

At camp Alice, (named after Alice McPherson), about where the old waterworks was at Oklahoma City, I had a change of food from good fat pork to garfish which we got under the ice with a pitchfork.[1]

A man said, "You see that tall man with long hair, mustache, and goatee? He is the best shot in Camp—kills deer with a six shooter." That afternoon this man asked if I wanted a piece of still deer. "You bet I do."

At that camp the soldiers arrived from Fort Sill and Fort Reno. After Captain Payne had been arrested, Mr. Osburn was making a speech. Some one whispered to him that there was a spy in camp.His reply was, "I don't care if there is a spy in camp." Then some one said, "Where is he?" Another said, "Get a rope." Then Captain Couch got on that stump. "Halt! Boys. We are Americans and here under the American Flag we are not to do harm." That put a stop to the rope. Osburn was next to be arrested. Then a Mr. Ackerley who sold whiskey for court purposes. Then the orders came, "All are to return to Kansas, under escort of soldiers and anyone found in camp at 7 a. m. will be taken to Fort Reno a prisoner," and I was the only one. We had 552 men in came. Some camp. When we started, "Oh, Joe. Here's your mule," there was same noise. The soldiers had one get in the wagon with the other three. Then Osburn, "Wick, what are you doing here?" My reply, "I started with you and will see you through." (He

[1]For picture of Camp Alice—See, Chronicles, Vol. XIII, No. 4; Dec. 1935 page 455.

helped me buy the photo outfit) and I slept under his blankets. Then we started for Fort Reno, February 11th. Rain kept us in camp one day Arrived at the Fort the eve of the 14th—three days' trip. By the way, our mess outfit went back to Kansas so when the soldiers brought us a dishpan full of beans we had to use our four fingers for a spoon. Later the top part of a bisquit. The soldiers had nothing for us and no love because we had them leave warm quarters and camp as we did in a blizzard, that was some below zero. On the way to the Fort there were eight men added to the list of prisoners. They were on the way to Camp Alice so we had 12 in the guard house. In about two weeks the orders came for us to walk to Caldwell, Kansas. We sat waiting until the messenger came and said, "Let the damn boomers ride." A hip, hip and off in charge of colored soldiers. Safe and sound in Caldwell. Captain Payne was a typical Westerner, a natural leader. You could not help liking him nor say "no." After our return, a friend said to another, "I never will loan him another dollar." Friend said, "I'll bet you a five you will." Bet taken, and in about 10 minutes he was called in the hall, came back. "Who was it?" "Oh, Payne." "Did you let him have any?" "Yes, a ten," so lost the five with it.

A common expression of his, "You can have this right arm if I don't do so and so."

Yet with all thy faults. I love thee still.

STORY OF NO MAN'S LAND

Address by Miss Maude O. Thomas

At The Annual Meeting of The Oklahoma Historical Society, April 30, 1936.

Not since the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth Rock has a more remarkable or a more interesting community existed on the American Continent than that section of Oklahoma, formerly No Man's Land, now Beaver, Texas and Cimarron counties. In the language of one of its earliest citizens, "it is a people without example and without precedent." It has been owned and disowned, claimed and disclaimed, an orphan among nations—no

man's land—finally obtaining a permanent home as an appendage to the Territory of Oklahoma. Its lands have been under the sovereignty of two monarchies, three republics and two states. Its boundaries were created as a result of diplomacy, war, slavery and, in part, "Topsy-like," just happened.

Originally French domain, it passed from France to the United States in the Louisiana Purchase only to be disclaimed and given to Spain in the Florida Treaty. With the Revolution of the Republic of Mexico it passed to Mexico as a part of the Mexican State of Texas. When Texas won her independence it passed to the Republic of Texas. In the subsequent formation of states and territories, it was left out completely—a strip of land 34½ miles wide by 168 miles long, a section which Congress forgot, and, very appropriately, it came to be known as "No Man's Land." It was the property of Uncle Sam, but beyond the pale of any law because it was not within the limits of any judicial district. So far as it is known, roving bands of Indians were the first humankind to occupy this region. Great herds of buffalo, deer and antelope; flocks of wild turkey, prairie chicken and quail made it literally "a happy hunting ground" for the red man.

William Becknell, of Missouri, the father of the Santa Fe Trail, was perhaps the first white man to set foot on Beaver County soil. He crossed what is now Cimarron County in 1823. Sheepmen who settled in the northwest corner of No Man's Land in 1863 were the first settlers in this colorful section. They were followed by the cattlemen who came in 1870. About this time came bands of hunters who slaughtered the buffalo for their hides, leaving the prairies literally covered with carcases. A little later a freight trail wormed its way across No Man's Land. A half-way stopping place on this trail from Dodge City, Kansas, to Tascosa, Texas, was on the Beaver River. Here, in March 1880, James Lane established a camp.

Boomers from the boom-town of Wichita, Kansas, discovered that the "strip" was really no man's land and took the first steps in its permanent settlement. They organized the Beaver City Town Company and on March 6, 1866, arrived at Lane's Camp announcing they had come to build a town. Satisfactory arrangements were made with Lane, the site was surveyed and the company's

representative went to Washington, D. C. to secure a patent for the land. At the same time they boomed the new town and country far and wide. They failed in getting title to the townsite, but their advertising of the section was more successful. Settlers came pouring in. Caravans of covered wagons, filled with men, women and children, came down the trail to the "Promised Land." A frontier sod town sprung up and settlers "squatted" on claims. Families of from six to twelve often lived in one room "soddies" or dugouts, with an over-jet set down outside for the "parlor." Naturally disputes arose as to titles and sometimes they resorted to shooting scrapes to determine the "legal" owners.

A second attempt was made to organize a government, but a neat swindle soon developed and this effort "went by the board" for the people wanted honest government or none. On November 29, 1886, a meeting was held which resulted in the organization of Cimarron Territory—one of the most unique governments ever organized by civilized man. At a general election held later, O. G. Chase was elected delegate to Congress and went to Washington to secure recognition and admission of Cimarron Territory to the Union. Its organization had been perfected and its officers functioning for some months. It was a "bitter pill" when word came back that Congress had refused to recognize the territory. Our wonderful Empire of Cimarron had vanished, but still the settlers stayed on, waiting, "Micawber-like," for something to turn up. On April 22, 1889, when the Oklahoma Country was opened with the famous "Run," our settlers, grown weary of waiting, left their homes in No Man's Land and flocked to the new country. From a population of over 12,000, less than 3,000 remained and, it is said, we had to count in some prairie dogs and jack rabbits to get that number. The few who remained did so because they were not able to get away. The ravens fed us!

Finally in 1890 the Territory of Oklahoma was created and No Man's Land was included, but other sections of Oklahoma were opened about the same time. The tide of settlers did not come in as they had gone out. No material influx came until 1903. By 1906 more than 40,000 had come. The pioneers, most of whom were cattle owners, dubbed the new neghbors, who came to farm, "pumpkin rollers" and told them they would starve to death trying to farm in that arid region. These warnings were treated with con-

tempt. The soil produced most prolifically, and the region became noted for its progress and prosperity. It became the home of the finest thoroughbred cattle and hogs, and its poultry topped the market. Its bountiful acres of wheat and broom corn attracted nation-wide attention. Its climate was the finest and its water the purest and coldest to be found in all the Great Plains.

The last chapter in the turbulent struggle of "No Man's Land" for regularly constituted government, equal to any state, was consummated November 16, 1907, when Oklahoma became a state.

That the people of "No Man's Land" were without a peer has been proven, if there were ever any doubt, by the heroic manner in which they have faced the tragedy of the past four years of drouth and dust storms. Do they intend to leave the Promised Land where sleep their brave pioneer fathers and mothers? No, a thousand times, No! "God's in His Heaven; all's right with the world" and No Man's Land. This, too, will pass, and again we shall see our verdant hills and vales in all their beauty, and our wide expanse of golden grain waving in the mellow glow of twilight. We have no thought of leaving. We, in "No Man's Land," are not weaklings.

I could not close without paying homage to the bravest settler in all No Man's Land—the heroic wife and mother who helped "hold down the claim." Surely God's richest blessing is reserved for her. As a toddling youngster, the youngest of a "brood" of ten, six of whom came with our parents in a covered wagon to our dug-out home in No Man's Land, I will remember the tear-stained face and the far-away look in the eyes of my dear old sainted mother. She never failed to tuck us into bed with a good night kiss, after our little prayer, "Now I lay me down to sleep," said at her knee. I did not then know what it was all about for, in an effort to be cheerful and make her family happy, she went about her many household duties singing.

"Picking up bones to keep from starving
Picking up chips to keep from freezing,
Picking up courage to keep from leaving,
'Way out west, in No Man's Land."

This was the scene enacted in many a "little sod shanty on the

claim'' in No Man's Land and back of it all was the heart of a true, brave Pioneer Mother, the real Empire Builder of the West.

And now a toast to No Man's Land: Somehow here your heart is filled with love for God and man. You feel it is a sacred place out here in No Man's Land. So, when at last my time is come to take that sleep so sweet, I want to rest in No Man's Land where Earth and Heaven meet.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Enid, April 30 and May 1, 1936

As Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society I realize that it is not possible to take up in detail the affairs of the organization at this meeting, but will speak of the work of the Society briefly.

Some three years ago Judge Doyle, now our esteemed president, compiled a brief sketch of the history of this Society, and I have had it revised and reprinted as it answers many questions concerning the history and work of the Society. In itself it is a compiled and an abbreviated report of the activities of this Society since its beginning some forty-three years ago.

We will have a number of extra copies, and I wish that every one present would secure a copy so that you may, at your leisure, acquire a more comprehensive understanding of the object and accomplishments of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

The Oklahoma Historical Society was the child of the first Editorial Association of the territory and was initiated just forty-three years ago at Kingfisher, Oklahoma, where the Editorial Association was holding its annual meeting.

At the time it was organized the Oklahoma and Indian Territories were separate political units and Oklahoma Territory comprised less than one-half of Oklahoma's present area. The territory now occupied by the Cherokee outlet, with more than seven million acres, had not been opened to settlement.

The Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita reservations had not been alloted or opened to white settlement at that time, while the Cherokee Commission was busy in trying to induce the Indians to take their land in severalty so the vast surplus lands could be opened to white settlement.

At the newspaper editors' meeting at Kingfisher, May 27, 1893, Mr. W. P. Campbell, speaking for himself and for his brother, Buck Campbell, made the proposition to the newspaper editors present, that if every editor in the territory would send his or her pub-

lication to their office in Kingfisher, that they would see to it that the papers were bound into volumes and taken care of in their office until other quarters could be procured. This invitation was not only extended to the editors of Oklahoma, but also included all editors of newspapers in the Indian Territory. The Editorial Association accepted the proposition submitted by Mr. Campbell and ever since that day these papers have been collected, bound and preserved by the custodians of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Two years after this first meeting, 1895, a charter was granted by the Secretary of the Territory to the Oklahoma Historical Society and the Territorial Legislature later, in the following session, 1895, while W. C. Renfrow was governor of the Territory, passed an act making an appropriation for the care and custody of these newspapers and records, and also to preserve and perpetuate the history of Oklahoma and its people. By this act the Historical Society was made custodian of the historic and official records of the state. This institution has had a continuous existence from that day until this, and it has made constant growth in every department, until today it is generally recognized that our institution is fully the equal of any historical organization in the west. It has been in the hands of its friends and has functioned as it should in establishing an historical library, museum, also in conserving books, newspapers, pamphlets, magazines and manuscripts, diaries, maps and all manner of historical documents, also photographs, engravings, pictures, statuary and other objects of art with special regard to illustrating and visualizing the history of our own state of Oklahoma and of the southwest.

Perhaps the most momentous epoch in the history of our society was the completion and dedication of our Historical Society building.

On your program you will see a picture of the building. In this building is housed the Oklahoma Historical Society, the splendid historical library which has been assembled in the last forty-three years, and our valuable collections including many rare books, pamphlets and manuscripts. We have many volumes in this library that are of great historic value and many that can not be replaced.

Another department is devoted entirely to newspapers which we have received, as stated above. The collection of newspapers

was one of the primary objects of the organization. We receive all, with the possible exception of a half dozen, of the papers printed in Oklahoma and some printed in other states. We receive about 250 weeklies, bi-weeklies and tri-weeklies and 62 daily papers. These weeklies are bound into volumes every year and the larger dailies are bound every month. We have now on our shelves nearly 25,000 volumes of newspapers extending back to 1828, (this being the files of the Cherokee Phoenix from 1828 to 1833). These newspapers are placed in our shelves alphabetically and chronologically and are, today, the greatest source of Oklahoma history to be found.

We also have a department devoted entirely to the records of the various Indian tribes, including that of the Five Civilized tribes. By an act of Congress, the Oklahoma Historical Society has been made custodian of all these records and we have long had an expert archivist indexing and classifying them, and any research student who wishes information on the tribes of Indians that have been under Indian agencies in Oklahoma, can get first-hand knowledge here. There have been a number of WPA workers under the direct supervision of Mrs. Rella Watts, classifying these records.

CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

One of the important functions of the Historical Society is the publication of a quarterly magazine, *Chronicles of Oklahoma.* This magazine is devoted to the history of Oklahoma, not only the history of the white race and the white man's government, but also the history and traditions of many tribes of Indians who were the first settlers. This magazine has been published for thirteen years and we now have twelve bound volumes. It is sent to hundreds of schools of the state—schools complying with certain requirements, as to the number of students and scholastic credits. We hope soon to have sufficient funds available to send the Chronicles to every consolidated school in the state. It is also sent to every newspaper in the state, received in exchange for the Chronicles, which includes nearly every paper published in Oklahoma. It is sent to the libraries of most of the larger educational institutions in America, and copies are sent to foreign countries. In exchange for the Chronicles of Oklahoma, we receive the historical publication of almost every state in the Union.

Every individual member of the Oklahoma Historical Society receives the Chronicles without additional cost, above the annual membership fee of $1.00.

The department which attracts the most attention and receives the most visitors is our state museum. It is fully the equal of any in any other state of the Union, and, as an Indian museum, it can only be surpassed by the National Museum and Smithsonian Institution at Washington. While we keep a register, yet we can not know definitely how many people have visited this institution in the past year. The museum has been visited by people from every county in the State and from most every state in the Union, and we have had quite a number of distinguished guests from foreign countries. We have had as many as two thousand visitors in a single day.

We have had several contributions of importance to the museum recently, including Mrs. Camille Phelan's famous History Quilt, and the Buffalo Hide painting presented by the Cherokee Strip Cow Punchers Association by its Secretary, Oscar E. Brewster. This hide represents the vanishing cattle industry of the Cherokee Strip. It has painted on it the picture of a herd of longhorn cattle disappearing in the distance. There is also pictured on this Buffalo hide the brands of the many cow ranches taken from the old brand books now in the vault of the Historical Society building. However, the most important of all is the historical roster containing the names of nearly 500 of those who were engaged in the cattle industry in the Cherokee Strip from the close of the Civil War until the opening in 1893. We are having constructed some splendid cabinets for these two exhibits, and they will be installed within the next few days. Many other contributions have been made to the museum in the past year by friends of the Society.

This report would not be complete unless some mention is made of the Union and Confederate Memorial halls. Within these sacred shrines are preserved not only the relics and the pictures, but also the history and memories of the war between the States. It is with a feeling of reverence and awe that intelligent people visit these rooms and view the pictures on the walls and the many mementoes of that great strife, which is now American history.

Many hundreds of the students of the schools of the state, accompanied by their teachers have visited these memorial rooms and have listened to the splendid lectures of the custodians in charge and have come away with a bigger, broader, and altogether more charitable knowledge of the Civil War than they have gotten by reading the books taught in the schools. It is fortunate that we have a Union soldier in charge of the Union Memorial room and although he is past 90 his mind is bright, his memory good, and his heart generous and the student of Oklahoma history hears at first hand the story of our own Civil War. The lady in charge of the Confederate Memorial room is the daughter of a Confederate soldier. She is an highly educated cultured lady who takes a profound interest in her work. The talks she makes to the students are most interesting and instructive. She is the daughter of a Confederate soldier who enlisted in the service from the Indian Territory.

Since our last meeting the Fifteenth State Legislature has met and adjourned. They recognized the needs of the Society and made sufficient appropriations to continue the work for the next biennium—and right here I wish to say that the legislatures of Oklahoma have, most generously, recognized the usefulness of the Historical Society and have made sufficient appropriations to carry on its work.

In the Secretary's written report at the annual meeting of a year ago, at Okmulgee, we spoke of the death of Charles F. Colcord, our distinguished president. Now we have to report that another member of the Board of Directors has passed away since our last annual meeting. That grand old veteran Gen. Richard A. Sneed died at the home of his son at Lawton on March 15, 1936. He was the embodiment of history, honor and patriotism and Oklahoma's most beloved citizen. His life was one of the last links that bound past history with the present. His passing was a distinct loss to the Oklahoma Historical Society.

The Oklahoma Historical Society is an educational institution, as much so as any state school and its ambition is to serve the entire people. Our historical collection here is invaluable to the student of history, whether he be a writer, a student in one of the state schools, or a private citizen in search of historical knowledge.

But what is the use to tell more about this great institution? It belongs to the people of Oklahoma, and it is the earnest wish of those in charge that they shall visit this Historical Society building and take advantage of the opportunities here offered in the study of history and kindred subjects.

Respectfully submitted,

Dan W. Peery, Secretary.

ANNUAL MEETING OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

April 30, May 1, 1936.

Enid, Okla.

The annual meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society convened April 30, 1936, at Enid, Oklahoma, as per resolution adopted at the annual meeting held at Okmulgee, Oklahoma, May 10-11, 1935.

At 8:00 A. M. the members assembled at the Youngblood Hotel for registration.

The meeting was called to order by Senator Harry O. Glasser, President of the Cherokee Strip Historical Society, and the following program was rendered:

Invocation by the Rev. Thomas H. McDowell.

Address of welcome, Mr. George Rainey.

Response, Dr. J. B. Thoburn.

At 10:00 A. M. an automobile pilgrimage was made to the Great Salt Plains, in Alfalfa County where Dr. Charles N. Gould, geologist, explained the geological formation. A short stop was made at the Drumm ranch.

At Alva, the members and visitors were given a luncheon at the Bell Hotel, by the faculty of the Northwestern State Teachers College.

Mr. Kent Johnson, Vice President of the Alva Chamber of Commerce, introduced Mr. Chris Mauntel, the toastmaster.

The male quartet from the Northwestern State Teachers College sang two numbers.

Prof. A. G. Vinson, head of the history department of the College, outlined the history of the college from its founding in 1897 to the present time.

Mr. Harry O. Glasser gave a talk on behalf of the visiting group and introduced a number of the guests, including Senator Thomas P. Gore.

After luncheon a tour of the buildings of the college was made, including a visit to the Museum.

Stops were made at the Sand Dunes in Wood County and the Gloss Mountain in Major County where talks were made by Dr. Charles N. Gould, an authority on the formation of natural phenomena. The cavalcade then returned to Enid, where dinner was served at the Youngblood hotel.

At 7:30 P. M. the meeting convened in the First Presbyterian Church, Mr. DeWitt Waller, superintendant of the Enid public schools presiding.

The choir of the First Presbyterian Church gave a musical recital, Marjorie Molter director.

The following historical addresses were delivered.

"The Chisholm Trail" Mr. Oscar Brewster, Crescent, Okla., Secretary of the Cherokee Strip Cowpunchers Association.

"Recollections of David L. Payne," Dr. C. P. Wickmiller, Kingfisher, Oklahoma, former photographer to David L. Payne.

"When printing was a hazardous calling" Mr. Grant Harris, Wagoner, first typesetter in the Cherokee Strip.

"Early Beaver County" Miss Maude Thomas, Beaver, Okla.

"Rambling Retrospection" by Mr. Buck Campbell.

Mr. T. E. Beck, Jefferson, Okla., presented his paper "When the Territory was young" for publication in the Chronicles.

Second day, May 1.

The business session at 10:00 A. M. was presided over by Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Vice President, in the absence of the President.

Upon motion the reading of the minutes of the annual meeting held at Okmulgee, May 10-11, 1935 was dispensed with.

The annual report of the Secretary was presented and ordered to be published in Chronicles.

Invitations to hold the next annual meeting of the Society both in Shawnee and Chickasha were read by the presiding officer.

Mr. Oscar Brewster moved that these invitations be submitted to the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors for action. Motion was seconded and carried.

The Secretary read the following list of applicants for annual membership in the Society:

E. E. Buckholts, Tulsa; Mrs. L.O.Carlson, Cambridge, Minn.; Mrs. Edith Connelley Clift, Okla. City; Mrs. Aletha Caldwell Conner, Okla. City; Eugene Couch, Okla. City; Mrs. C. Guy Cutlip, Wewoka; Mrs. William Denman, San Francisco, Calif.; George Eubanks, Fairview; Ray S. Fellows, Tulsa; Gerald Forbes, Norman; Mrs. Fred Fordice, Edmond; Mrs. John L. George, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Martha Gilbert, Enid; Mrs. John L. Gleason, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Mayme C. Hallum, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Christine Squire Hill, Norman; Russell V. Johnson, Oklahoma City; Leo Jones, Carnegie; Robert Kirkland, Alva; G. E. E. Lindquist, Lawrence, Kansas; W. R. McCluskey, Kansas City, Missouri; Margurete McGuire, Oklahoma City; J. F. McMaumon, Enid; M. L. McMullin, Tulsa; Hugo Milde, Kaw City; John L. Miller, Enid; L. W. Moore, Alva; Dr. Patrick S. Nagle, Oklahoma City; Dr. C. S. Neer, Vinita; James L. Nelson, Breckenridge; R. R. Owens, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Ruth Rogers Purlee, Tulsa; Mrs. Celene G. Reed, Oklahoma City; Rudolph Ruzek, Jr., Enid; Frank V. Shaw, Fairfax; John Calvin Snyder, Topeka, Kansas; Ed Stinnett, Enid; Kate Willard, Ardmore; Robert H. Wood, Tulsa; W. L. Woodward, Alva; A. B. Wright, Enid.

Upon motion duly seconded they were received into membership.

Dr. J. B. Thoburn moved that J. B. Campbell, Enid, Grant Harris, Wagoner and A. L. Kates, Claremore be elected honorary life members of the society. Motion was seconded and carried.

The Chair appointed Dr. J. B. Thoburn, Chairman of a committee, Mr. Thoburn to select the other two members, to draft resolutions thanking the people of Enid, and Alva.

RESOLUTION

On the occasion of this, the 43rd annual meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society, we, the members present, desire to give expression to our sincere and cordial appre-

ciation of the spirit of generous hospitality with which we have been greeted and treated by the people of Enid. Especially do we commend the tireless and unsparing efforts of Hon. Harry O. Glasser and Mr. George Rainey, and their determination to make a success of the meeting and its program, in which they were most ably seconded and supported by the people of the community, generally. And we furthermore bear home with us most kindly recollections of our brief visit in the City of Alva and of the gracious and hospitable reception at the hands of its citizenship, including the members of the faculty of the Northwestern Oklahoma State Teachers' College.

Joseph B. Thoburn
Mrs. Anna B. Korn
C. P. Wickmiller.

Mr. J. B. Campbell announced the donation of a French Diary, translated, for the archives of the Society.

Dr. J. B. Thoburn discussed a memorial to the memory of W. P. Campbell, the founder of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Mrs. Aletha Conner moved that Mrs. Camille Phelan be thanked for exhibiting her historical quilt at this meeting. Motion was second and carried.

The meeting stood adjourned.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Vice President,
Presiding.

Dan W. Peery, Secretary.

In the afternoon another auto pilgrimage was made to the old Buffalo Springs, at the junction of the Chisholm and Fort Sill trails; and Hennessey where they were entertained at the home of Mrs. Annette B. Ehler, and visited the grave of Pat Hennessey and the monument of Roy Cashion, the first soldier of Oklahoma to lose his life in the Spanish American war; then on to Kingfisher where the private museum of Dr. C. P. Wickmiller was visited.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

APRIL 23, 1936

The regular quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society convened in the Historical building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, April 23, 1936, at 10:00 A. M., with Judge Thomas H. Doyle, President, presiding.

The Secretary called the roll which showed the following members present: Gen. Charles F. Barrett, Judge Harry Campbell, Dr. E. E. Dale, Judge Thomas H. Doyle, Judge Thomas A. Edwards, Dr. Grant Foreman, Mr. James H. Gardner, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Judge Samuel W. Hayes, General William S. Key, Mrs. Frank Korn, Col. A. N. Leecraft, Mrs. Blanche Lucas, Mr. John B. Meserve, Mrs. Jessie E. Moore, Mr. Jasper Sipes, Judge Baxter Taylor, Dr. Joseph B. Thoburn, Judge William P. Thompson, Mrs. John R. Williams, and Judge R. L. Williams.

Mr. George H. Evans, Mrs. Roberta C. Lawson and Judge Robert A. Hefner had reported their inability to attend this meeting, and upon motion of Col. A. N. Leecraft, duly seconded, the excuses offered for absence were accepted.

The Secretary presented the minutes of the Board meeting held January 23, 1936, and upon motion of Mr. John B. Meserve, duly seconded, the reading of the minutes was dispensed with at this time.

The Secretary read his report on the activities of the Society for the first quarter of the year.

Judge R. L. Williams presented to the Society for its archives a typewritten copy of an address delivered by the Hon. Jefferson Davis before the Phi Sigman and Hermean Societies of the University of Mississippi, July 15, 1852, and an early day picture of the town of Tulsa and also a letter dated May 20, 1895, written by Mrs. J. S. Murrow to her sister.

Dr. Grant Foreman moved that these donations be accepted and the donor thanked for same. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge Harry Campbell was asked to verify the picture of Tulsa before it was placed in the archives of the Society.

Judge R. L. Williams reported on the acquisition of the Sequoyah homesite as a public park, the title for the State to run in the name of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Judge R. L. Williams presented a bill with vouchers for expenses incurred by John E. Tidwell in connection with solicitation of funds for the Sequoyah Memorial, to the amount of $9.88 and moved that it be allowed and paid out of the private funds of the Society. Motion was seconded and carried.

Mr. DeLaughter presented the request of Major Geo. B. Black, member of the Texas Centennial Commission, for the loan of certain museum material to be placed on exhibition at the Texas Centennial Exposition at Dallas, Texas, opening June 6, to run for five months.

This was discussed by Mrs. John R. Williams, Gen. Charles F. Barrett, Judge R. L. Williams, Judge Thomas A. Edwards, Judge William P.

Thompson and Judge Samuel W. Hayes, and portions of the constitution relating to such matters were read.

Judge Thomas A. Edwards moved that the Society make a temporary display for educational purposes at the Texas Centennial Exposition, at Dallas, Texas, of the articles enumerated in this request. Motion was seconded by Mrs. Jessie E. Moore.

Judge R. L. Williams moved to amend by adding that any contract we make for such purpose be made subject to the approval of the Attorney General. The amendment was accepted.

Judge R. L. Williams moved to further amend by adding that owners of articles, which were loaned to the Society, first give their approval in writing before being included in such display, to which Judge Edwards objected, but upon motion it was voted to accept the amendment as a part of the original motion, and the motion as amended was carried.

Dr. Grant Foreman reported on the WPA project and explained that a number of small publications or newspapers had been preserved by being tied into small bundles, and Judge R. L. Williams moved that these be bound, but not necessarily in separate volumes. The motion was seconded and carried.

Dr. Grant Foreman, chairman of the Fort Gibson Stockade Commission, made a report on the work that had been done there and explained the necessity of having a custodian live in the barracks building.

Judge R. L. Williams moved that Dr. Foreman be empowered to employ a custodian at the Fort Gibson barracks building, without expense to the Society. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge Samuel W. Hayes moved that a committee of three be appointed to pass on and approve the contract with the custodian of the Fort Gibson barracks building. Motion was seconded and carried, and the Chair appointed Judge William P. Thompson, Judge Thomas A. Edwards and Judge Baxter Taylor.

Gen. William S. Key reported on the WPA Indian project and turned the correspondence over to a committee consisting of Dr. Foreman, Dr. Dale and Mrs. Moore and asked that they analyze and harmonize the correspondence and submit it within the next thirty days to Gen. William S. Key, Works Progress Administrator for Oklahoma.

Judge R. L. Williams moved that $225.00 out of the private funds of the Society be made available for securing a lease on the Spiro project, a like amount to be appropriated by the friends of Tulsa University, the lease to extend for three years. Motion was seconded.

Judge Samuel W. Hayes moved to amend by substituting for the above amount the sum of $450.00 for a three year lease on this tract, and that James H. Gardner represent the Society at the forthcoming sale. The amendment being accepted, the motion as amended was carried.

The Chair appointed the following committee to handle this matter and make such contract as they deem best: James H. Gardner, Dr. E. E. Dale, Mrs. Blanche Lucas, Dr. Grant Foreman and Judge Samuel W. Hayes.

Mrs. Jessie E. Moore explained that Congressman Rankin of Mississippi had introduced a bill in Congress, which had passed, providing funds to erect a monument to the Chickasaw Nation on the site of the

old battlefield of Achia near Tupelo, Mississippi, and the cornerstone is to be laid some time in May, with appropriate ceremonies, and that President Roosevelt had appointed Gov. Douglas H. Johnston to be present to represent the Chickasaw Nation, and Mrs. Moore moved that Dr. J. B. Thoburn be sent as a delegate from the Oklahoma Historical Society. Motion was seconded.

Mrs. Blanche Lucas moved that Mrs. Jessie E. Moore be substituted for Dr. J. B. Thoburn to represent the Historical Society. On motion the amendment was seconded and approved, and the original motion as amended was carried.

Judge R. L. Williams moved that the State Auditor be asked to approve the traveling expenses of Mrs. Moore before the trip is made. Motion was seconded and carried.

At the request of Judge Samuel W. Hayes, the name of Judge R. L. Williams was substituted on the committee to make contract for the Spiro lease.

Dr. E. E. Dale reported that Dr. Merrill, of the University of Nebraska, had asked permission to make copies from the archives and court records of the Five Civilized Tribes, including the written opinions of the Tribal Supreme Court, and moved that this permission be granted. Motion was seconded.

Judge R. L. Williams moved to amend by adding that a committee be appointed to do it on the part of the Historical Society, which amendment was accepted.

The motion as amended was carried, and the Chair appointed Dr. Grant Foreman, Chairman; Mr. John B. Meserve and Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour.

The President presented a claim for L. W. Nichols, engineer, for making blue prints for various cases in the museum and additional shelving for the newspaper files.

Judge R. L. Williams moved that Mr. R. R. Owens, the State Engineer, and Mr. L. W. Nichols who did the work, file affidavits that L. W. Nichols does not draw a salary from the State, or compensation from the state covering that period, and in the event Mr. Nichols does not draw such salary or compensation from the state, the claim is to be presented to the President for his approval.

Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge R. L. Williams moved that the President, Secretary and Treasurer of the Society take steps to make the money appropriated for the Spiro lease available at once. Motion was seconded and carried.

Mrs. John R. Williams moved that the furniture in the Women's organization room be wrapped and stored in some safe place while the room is being used by the WPA workers. Motion was seconded and carried.

Mr. James H. Gardner reported on the erection of monuments at the old mission points and highways.

Upon motion, duly seconded, the Board resolved itself into a executive session.

JUDGE THOMAS, H. DOYLE, President,
Presiding.

DAN W. PEERY, Secretary.

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Oklahoma Historical Society

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Chronicles of Oklahoma

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DAN W. PEERY

GRANT FOREMAN GEORGE H. EVANS

Announcement: Mr. James W. Moffitt, the in-coming secretary will assume editorship of the December issue of *Chronicles of Oklahoma.*

FRANK HILTON GREER

Chronicles of Oklahoma

Volume XIV **September, 1936** **Number 3**

FRANK H. GREER

When Frank H. Greer passed away, Oklahoma lost one of its most notable and outstanding pioneers. Indeed, it is doubtful if, in its activities and its influence, the career of any other pioneer of Oklahoma Territory touched the life, civic ideals and institutions as widely and as fully as did that of Frank H. Greer, the story of whose life, to which "30" was written, August 8, 1933, is an essential part of the source material of the sort from which the ultimate history of Oklahoma is to be written.

Frank Hilton Greer was born in Leavenworth, Kansas, July 21, 1862. He was the fourth child, two of his elder brothers having died in infancy, and son of Samuel Wiley and Clotida (Hilton) Greer. Samuel W. Greer was a native of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, where his paternal grandfather, of Irish birth and Scottish extraction had settled, prior to the American Revolution. The maiden name of Samuel W. Greer's mother was O'Hagerty, so she was of Irish birth or descent. Samuel W. Greer had completed his education at Oberlin College, with the purpose of qualifying himself for the ministry of the Presbyterian Church. At Xenia, Ohio, he met Miss Clotilda Hilton, of Zanesville, in the same state. She was a member of the Hilton family which had been prominent in the earlier history of Cincinnati. Prior to her marriage she had been engaged in educational work. She was a woman of strong character and of pronounced personality. Samuel W. Greer and Clotilda Hilton were married at Oskaloosa, Iowa, in 1855, after which they fared forth to the then recently settled and newly organized Territory of Kansas. He had found employment as superintendent of schools at Leavenworth. A year or two later he was appointed to the position of Territorial superintendent of public instruction, a position in which there had been but a single predecessor, who had held the office but a short time, so the task of organizing the educational depart-

ment of the Territorial Government devolved largely upon Superintendent Greer. It is said that some of the school legislation which he prepared and which was enacted into law by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory is still in force and effect in the statute books of the State of Kansas, after a lapse of more than three-quarters of a century.

Mrs. Greer had been a devoted member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Her maternal grandfather had been a very noted Methodist minister. After her marriage, however, her denominational relationship was changed to that of the Presbyterian Church, of which her husband was a communicant. But her religion was not a matter of sectarianism, so her spiritual service was just as consecrated in the one church as it had been in the other. And so, in a home which had the presence and example of a dignified, cultured and scholarly father, on the one side, and that of devotion and perfect faith in the ultimate triumph of the spirit of eternal righteousness, on the part of the mother, it was only to have been expected that the children of such a union would manifest marked ability and unusual individuality.

Samuel W. Greer, then but recently retired from official life in Kansas, was in Washington at the outbreak of the Civil War, a few weeks after the inauguration of President Lincoln. There, he was one of the organizing members of the famous "Frontier Guard," which kept watch and ward over the White House for several weeks, until adequate military protection of the national capital, both environmental and internal, could be arranged. Then, this company of Western volunteers, who were there only temporarily, was disbanded. A year later, Mr. Greer recruited a company which was mustered into the Federal volunteer military service as Troop "I," of the 15th Kansas Cavalry, of which he was commissioned captain and which he commanded until the end of the War, three years later. It is not of record that he led any dashing cavalry charges, but he held the confidence of his superiors and commanded the respect of his men; also that, in the absence of the chaplain, he visited the sick and wounded, comforted the dying and read the burial service for those who had "paid the last full measure of devotion."

The end of the War found Captain Greer with shattered health and his material affairs suffering from lack of attention during his absence in the Army service. After several years of struggle to recuperate and rehabilitate his material resources, he finally succeeded in liquidating the latter and found that but little more than a pittance was left with which to make a new start. With this slender capital, it was determined that he should turn to life in the open in the hope that he might regain his health. He accordingly filed a homestead entry upon a quarter of a section of Government land in Cowley County, Kansas, and preparations were made for the removal of the family to this homestead claim. This was in the spring of 1871. The family consisted of Mrs. Greer, three young sons—Edwin, Frank and Bert, and twin baby daughters, then but a few weeks old. A wagon and team of horses were secured for the move of about 175 miles. Into this wagon were packed clothing and household essentials. Mrs. Greer did much of the driving, for the reason that the Captain was virtually an invalid, scarcely able to sit up on the wagon seat much of the time. Even at that, however, the journey was undertaken with hearts that were filled with hope. There were sore trials in store for this family circle. One of the horses laid down and died. Manifestly the journey could not be completed with just one horse to draw a loaded two-horse wagon. It would have been a heart-rending discouragement to some folks so situated. Not so with this courageous-hearted pioneer wife and mother. With the aid of Frank and his elder brother, Edwin, she secured a small tent from the wagon, set it up, arranged therein the pallets upon which part of the family were to sleep. Then the boys were given their supper which had been cooked on the camp-fire, after which they went to bed in the tent. Then their mother secured her Bible and seated herself by the camp-fire where she could read by its light and, after rereading its treasured promises, which she knew and could repeat from memory, she wrestled in prayer for faith to trust that all of their needs would be supplied. At breakfast the next morning she quietly yet convincingly assured the family circle that she had made a draft on "the Bank of Providence" and that God would provide them with a team with which they would be enabled to complete their journey to the homestead and establish

their new home. Several days were spent in waiting for this to come to pass, but she never doubted the outcome. With her buoyant faith she attended to the wants of the family and inspired each and all with such an expectancy of certain relief that there could be no such thing as disappointment or failure. One evening, an immigrant party, having several wagons, camped near by. The next morning, when it departed, a lame ox was left behind. Mrs. Greer fed this ox and bathed its swollen foot and, in a few days, it was sufficiently recovered from its lameness to be of use, whereupon, it was hitched to the wagon with the surviving horse and the journey to the Cowley County homestead was resumed and completed, while in her prayers she never failed to acknowledge gratefully the answer to her petition for help in the day of distress and sore need. In after years her children often recalled "Mother's Providential team," and it is a tradition in the Greer family that neither Frank nor his brother Edwin could ever narrate this incident in family history without the tears streaming down their cheeks, as they recalled the quiet courage, the devoted tenderness and unquestioning faith of their mother, despite the infirmities of the invalid husband and father and the utter dependence of a brood of young children.

Through hardships and privations that would have discouraged or defeated less courageous spirits, the homestead was opened up for cultivation and production. Although Captain Greer never regained his full strength, his general health was measurably improved and, as if there could be no sacrifice without some compensation, physical weakness seemed to give opportunity for greater mental activity. A finished scholar, himself, the wife and mother of the family always seemed to be his intellectual equal even though her scholastic training had not been carried quite as far as had his. So, as he was wont to read aloud and call attention to what he had read, it was the wife and mother who analyzed, compared, drew conclusions and commented upon the subject or theme thus brought under consideration. Though engaged in the most homely, common, every-day domestic tasks, she always found something worth while to be drawn from such discussions that would warrant a helpful or inspiring comment. It was her mind that pondered and reasoned and interpreted the meanings and significances to the listening members

of the household. She was a truly wonderful woman, of keenly acquisitive and brilliant mentality and possessed of moral ideals and ethical standards that were not open to question or to doubt, for, with all of her gifts of mind and understanding, she combined a child-like trust in the omnipotence and omniscience of the Source of all Wisdom and all Power. Indeed, her demonstration in the instance of the "Providential team," already related, is said to have been only one of many such incidents in her life which had given proof of the efficacy of her faith.

Though Frank Greer's elder brother, Edwin, like other lads of his age, was greatly interested in pioneer life, he did not take to farming as a means of gaining a livelihood, so, within a year or two after the family settled in Cowley County, he left home and sought and secured employment in Winfield, the county seat, distant but a few miles from the Greer homestead. It was not easy for a boy to find employment in a frontier town, in those days, but he persevered and, finally, he found a position as an apprentice, or "devil," in the print-shop of the Winfield "Courier." Mastering "the art of preservative of arts," he gradually advanced until he was enabled to purchase a one-third interest in the business. Later, this was increased to a half-interest and, eventually, he became the sole owner of the newspaper and its mechanical equipment.

On the farm, the original one-room claim house, with its "lean-to" kitchen, was replaced by a more commodious and more comfortable structure. Even in the lean pioneer years, this humble home had always been pervaded by an atmosphere of culture, refinement and reverently spiritual thoughtfulness and, though educational facilities and opportunities were meagre in comparison with those which were ultimately developed in the community, so that what might have seemed to be lacking in the way of scholastic training for the young minds and hearts was more than compensated by the stimulus and inspiration of the domestic environment. Small and crowded as the pioneer home was in the beginning, it had its family library—works on history, biography, philosophy and science, with a measure of worth-while fiction which had won its way into a permanent place in Anglo-American literature, nor had poetry been overlooked in its primary selection. In addition to these books, the frugal domestic budget always provided for several standard

magazines or reviews. It was the custom of the family to read selections from permanent or periodical literature every evening and then discuss it in the circle so that all, even to the youngest, had a chance to hear or discuss the theme under consideration. This was the sort of an atmosphere in which Frank Greer had been reared and it fitted him to meet and mingle with cultured, scholarly people anywhere and any time. It was because of this intellectual environment at home, during the years of his childhood and youth, that few who met him casually in his later life, could realize that the stern necessities of pioneer life had closed the door of opportunity for college or university training to him.

When Frank Greer was sixteen years old, he, too, left the farm and sought employment in Winfield. Then, the homestead farm was sold and the family moved to town, in 1878, as two younger sons did not take to farming. (Charles, the youngest member of the family, was born after settlement in Cowley County.) Eventually all of the three younger sons followed in the wake of the eldest brother by taking to the printing trade or to newspaper work. When Frank first went to Winfield, he found work as a clerk in a drygoods store for a time, but it was not long before his brother Edwin took him into the Courier office, where he not only got a fair knowledge of the printing trade, but also became a writer. As a local reporter he was noted for his zeal and efficiency, usually turning in more "copy" than there was space to be filled. His father lived several years after the family moved into Winfield. Though he was in frail health, he was ever keenly alive to all that was going on around him and continued to be a great reader. As a young man, Frank took an active part in the social life of the community, which was then at its best in Winfield.

In 1888, a few months before the opening of the first lands to homestead settlement in the Oklahoma country, Frank H. Greer and Miss Blanche Byers, of Winfield, were married. The bride was a young woman of great beauty and was possessed of a most charming personality. As the time for this great land opening drew near, Frank Greer became greatly interested; as, indeed, most of the bright, ambitious, intelligent young men living along the border of the other states which adjoined the old Indian Territory, of which Oklahoma was then a part, were likewise in-

terested. Of course, he wanted to go into the newspaper business. His brother Edwin had been conducting a successful and profitable business in the same line for many years and, after canvassing the whole matter, he agreed to back Frank in such an undertaking. The building of the Santa Fe railway line between Arkansas City, Kansas, and Purcell, Indian Territory, which had been completed and put into operation only about a year and a half before the opening of Oklahoma, was projected and men who were connected with the legal department of the Santa Fe Company were citizens of Winfield. These men were naturally influential in the formulation of the policy of that great corporation with regard to the Oklahoma country when it was thrown open to settlement. That there would be one or two good towns along this railway line, (which, as yet, was the only railway that had been constructed across the lands that were to be thrown open to settlement), was a foregone conclusion. That one of these would be the beneficiary of the influence and favor of the railway company, was likewise to be expected. The sequel proved that the town thus favored was Guthrie, the site of which was just south of where the Santa Fe line crossed the Cimarron. So, Guthrie was favored first in the location of one of the two first Government land offices and, later by its designation as the temporary seat of the territorial government. Under such circumstances, it was not strange that the Greer Brothers, Edwin P. and Frank H., should have received a "straight tip" from authoritative sources, in selecting a location for the business which they had in mind. We are fortunate in having Frank Greer's own story of his coming to Oklahoma, as he wrote it many years ago. This account under the caption of "Early Romance of Oklahoma" is herewith reproduced just as it was published:

"On April 20, 1889, I got ready to start for Oklahoma. I had arranged with R. L. Millspaugh, familiarly known to his friends as 'Aub,' and W. H. Bruington, two genial and ambitious young men, to make the trip with me. After bidding my wife good-bye and giving her ten dollars out of the thirty-nine I had in my pocket, I went to the home of my mother. Before bidding me good-bye, she said she desired to commit me to the providence of God, Who, she knew, would protect my footsteps and prosper my future. So we went into her bed-room and there

knelt by the bedside and I remember how fervently she appealed to the Lord about the prospects of the wonderful new land and submitted to His care her boy who was going to cast his lot in the new Eden.

"I recollect my thoughts on leaving the house—with that prayer fresh in my mind and tears still in my eyes, of the peculiar ambitions of a young man starting into a new country with but twenty-nine dollars in his pocket and nothing but this amount of cash capital and the hopes and prayers of a sainted mother and a loving wife on which to found a newspaper business and expecting as firmly to found it as if he had a million with which to do it.

"The paper had already been started and three issues had come out. Just how I expected to bring out the rest of the issues was considerably more in imagination than in reality.

"To me, one of the important incidents of that first week in Guthrie was the arrival of my mother on that first train. She got a lot out on East Oklahoma Avenue, which she sold on April 24th for ninety dollars. She brought the ninety dollars down to the State Capital tent and, handing the money to me said: 'Frank, the Lord has answered ninety dollars' worth of my prayer for you on the night you started for Oklahoma.' And the ninety dollars assisted in founding the State Capital.

"Millspaugh, Bruington and I went to Arkansas City, where were thousands of 'boomers' ranged along the line of the Cherokee Strip. We negotiated with the engineer and brakeman for a ride on a freight train through the Strip, expecting to stop at the line between the Strip and the Oklahoma lands that were to be thrown open for settlement, near the site upon which Orlando was afterward built. We mounted a carload of telephone poles about twelve o'clock at night, the load having been arranged to form convenient cracks or crevices large enough to conceal an ordinary man. Millspaugh was a heavy fellow, and I remember that he had a hard time finding a place large enough to conceal himself. Of course the editor had small trouble on that score as he was slim enough to fit in almost anywhere in any sort of a crack. There were soldiers all along the line and there seemed to be a great deal of freight coming into Oklahoma in ad-

vance of the opening, for the train stopped distressingly often and, every time it stopped, it would slide us along on the car floor with the telegraph poles, sometimes removing patches of cuticle in the operation.

"One of our fellow travelers on that ride was an Irishman. I remember that his feet touched my head, as he was in the same 'compartment' with me. Millspaugh was a traveling man and, therefore, a great talker, and he persisted in making laughable comments, until, finally, the Irishman said:

" 'Does yez hear the sojers? If yez spalpeens will shut yer mouths an' study the stars, yez will not be so much in danger of havin' to git off an' drill wid Uncle Sam's blue-coats.' A little later I heard one Irishman say to another: 'Pat, will yez give me the loan of yer spade for about five minutes at twelve o'clock, on Monday?' to which Pat made answer: 'Ye fool, does yez think I a-carryin' this spade becus I love the likes of yez? I expect to git me a claim an' this spade will be in use by a better man than yez about the time ye'll be afther a-wantin' to use it.'

"When we arrived at Orlando, the freight train seemed to have no notion of stopping. There were thousands of people, on the boundary line where it was intersected by the railway track, as this train went shooting past them at thirty miles an hour. That was Sunday morning, and we passed the station at Guthrie a little after daylight. There I saw Captain H. G. Cavanaugh, U. S. Army, with a few enlisted men standing at 'parade rest' on the station platform, looking for 'Sooners.' However, as they did not search the tall timbers in our car, we were not discovered. The way that train moved sort of worried me. We wanted to stop somewhere in Oklahoma and, the closer to Guthrie the better. We wanted to roll off but the train was making too much speed for that. We talked the matter over. Millspaugh was equal to every emergency. A brakeman was going along—Millspaugh slipped him a coin, the train began to slow down and when it was making about ten miles per hour, we took our chances and jumped. It was about the greatest jolt I ever had when I landed. I had rolled in the moist earth and was covered with dirt. My dinner bucket, in which I had three clean handkerchiefs, a pair of socks, a Silver King onion, some salt and several sand-

wiches, was smashed. When we got together and surveyed the situation we decided to go up the ravine that lies just west of the old Charley Brown place about two miles south of Guthrie. Walking through the woods, we came to a beautiful pool of crystal clear water, about ten feet deep, at the head of a little canyon. This brimming basin at the foot of a ledge of rock about twenty feet high was one of the most charming bits of landscape scenery that I ever saw in Oklahoma. Here we built a small fire though we could not make much of a camp, as each of us had only his overcoat and one small blanket and a dinnerpail. At noon we ate lunch. Mine consisted of a sandwich and a slice from the big Silver King onion, Millspaugh and Bruington each had a hard-boiled egg with a sandwich. After lunch and a drink of water from the pool, we went up on the hill whence, with Millspaugh's spy-glass, we could see about 500 people walking around over the Guthrie townsite. It was humiliating for us to realize that, while we were skulking around in the brush, others were right out in the open sizing up the choice lots upon which to pounce and claim the next day. During the afternoon we circled around and came on to Guthrie townsite from the northeast, about nine o'clock in the evening. We were in a gully close to where the Christian Church was afterward built. We heard horses coming at a gallop. Having no chance to escape, we threw ourselves down in the grass. One cavalry horse, on a very good canter, passed within three feet of my head, and I did not dare move as I knew that the troopers were looking for 'Sooners' and, if they could have gotten hold of us, they would have taken us into camp and held us as long as it suited them. This one scare was enough for us, so we went back up the gully, near the site of the present Baldwin home, where we made ourselves as comfortable as possible with our overcoats and blankets and tried to sleep.

"On Monday morning we came out far enough to see people moving around on the Land Office hill. The only man we met to speak to was one who caught Millspaugh with his head far enough out of the brush to be seen. The stranger drew down his Winchester on Millspaugh and ordered him to come up to the bank, which he did. Millspaugh was a good jollier, so he soon had the man mollified and in a talking mood. This man said that

his name was Ransom Payne and that he was a deputy U. S. marshal. This was about ten o'clock, Monday morning, April 22d, and Payne was on the land he afterward tried to hold as his homestead and for which he tried to establish a valid claim through years of litigation in the courts! At 12 o'clock, high noon, Millspaugh put up a stick on the bank, having marked it "This is my claim. R. L. Millspaugh." He thus regarded himself in a position to contest Ransom Payne, but he soon afterward abandoned all hope of securing a claim.

"I cut a stick, attached a shingle on the top, went out on the south half of East Guthrie, a little west of where the Capital school house was afterward built, set up this sign, claiming the tract as my homestead. I remember that, as I stood there, about half past twelve o'clock, looking west, there was not a soul in sight that I could see, as far as where the Bank of the Indian Territory afterward erected its building. This was the tract for which Veder B. Paine afterward strove, carrying his case clear up to the U. S. Supreme Court. One of the strange things to me was that three days afterward, I sauntered back on that hill and found my stake still standing, with my name on the shingle, though all of the land around it had been taken and there were tents everywhere.

"At about ten minutes after twelve o'clock, I located on the corner of Broad and Cleveland avenue, where the Mrs. William Blincos home was afterward built. That afternoon, I put up the tent office of the State Capital, which had been brought from Winfield in a mule-wagon, by "the Winfield crowd," as far as the western edge of the Iowa Indian reservation which was eight miles east of Guthrie. This whole "Winfield crowd" became very anxious and uneasy because of the Sooners who were continuously slipping by them on the border and disappearing in the direction of Guthrie, so they finally crossed the line themselves and came within one mile of Guthrie, whence they made the run at the appointed hour—theoretically covering eight miles in fifteen minutes. These Winfield men, being early on the ground, were soon the proud possessors of about all of the lots on Broad Street. They held a meeting in the Bretton House a week before the date set for the opening, and arranged to send an engineer to choose the best site for the town. This engineer came to Guthrie, looked over the ground and picked East Guthrie as being the most avail-

able site and not too far from the railway station, with Broad Street as the principal business thoroughfare of the town. So, these Winfield men who made the run were provided with blueprints, and they took possession of what they supposed would be the most valuable property in the new town, very quietly and in good order. They were thoroughly organized for quick and effective action in an emergency. Ex-sheriff Nipp, of Cowley County, was chosen as the captain and Col. Tom F. Soward, former department commander of the Kansas G. A. R., was the chief orator of the aggregation. Police whistles were to be used as signals by members in distress or danger and every Winfield man had a police whistle in his vest pocket. One blast on the whistle meant, 'I am in trouble,' two blasts meant, 'Get ready!' and three blasts sounded the call to 'Come quick!'

"The first men that I met after locating on my lot was a big, broad-shouldered westerner with a fractured left ear, armed with a Colt's six-shooter and a Bowie knife, and a little, thick-set, red-headed man who was likewise armed and equipped. Each had his coat on his arm. The tall man came up on the run, out of breath, with the red-headed fellow about twenty feet behind. The tall man said: "What are you doing here? This is my lot. I took it half an hour ago and went off to get a drink." Then he threw down his coat on my lot and the red-headed man threw his down immediately north of mine. I expostulated with the tall man but he would not listen. I told him he would have trouble soon. Then I took out my police whistle and gave one shrill blast, followed by a second blast of the same sort. When the third signal sounded, forty of the Winfield crowd appeared like a flash, whereupon the tall man and his red-headed companion gave up their bluff and started over toward the Land Office. The tall man was Volney Hoggett, who was prominent afterward as a candidate for mayor of Guthrie in the first election held under the provisional municipal organization. The red-headed man was Paddy Moran, subsequently a rather conspicuous lawyer in the community for a time.

"After Hoggett left my lot, the State Capital tent was soon up. With the tent there had been brought signs that I had had painted on strips of white oil cloth. These signs were soon attached to the tent so that the way-farer might read: 'The Okla-

homa State Capital, the first paper published in Oklahoma.' At four o'clock p. m., the Daily State Capital (the first issue after the opening having been printed at Winfield) was on sale among the tents of Guthrie. Some big men became newsboys. There was not much to do except to watch your lot and, where the crowd was as harmonious as the one from Winfield, it was not necessary for me to stick close to my domain, so I was one of the newsboys myself. A. D. Henderson, a hardware merchant from Winfield was another, while my older brother, Ed. P. Greer, the Winfield publisher, was a loud-voiced news vendor, as was Arthur Locke, of Harrisonville, Missouri. Nearly every man with whom I was acquainted volunteered to sell papers and was given a chance. The papers went like hot cakes and those who sold them received half. It was great sport for the big fellows who playfully laid aside their dignity for the occasion. Some of them proved to be splendid salesmen, stentorian-voiced and acute. One of the most amusing experiences I had in those days was when Arthur Locke and I took a trip to Oklahoma City three days later with about 200 copies of the paper. Its name led the people of that town to think that the State Capital had been printed in Oklahoma City. At that time no paper had been printed there. Locke took one tented street, and I took the other and in a little while we had sold the entire package, proving ourselves to be the "howlingest" newsboys that had yet appeared.

"On the 25th, I sold my lot for $150. Will T. Little and Frank Prouty were running a small job-printing shop and a little paper called the 'Get Up,' in a tent. I asked Frank Prouty what he would take for his outfit. He said $300. It was a very scanty outfit with a few cases of type and an old job-press. I said: 'I will give you $100 in cash and two notes, due in thirty and sixty days.' He said: 'I will take it,' and in less than an hour from that time the material had all been moved to the frame building which Horace Speed was erecting for the State Capital on Oklahoma Avenue, and which then had only the sides up and the rafters for the roof, with part of the floor laid. There was a tremendous demand for job work. Letter-heads were turned out at $15 per thousand, envelopes at $12 per thousand and business cards at $10 per thousand. So rushing was the business that, as fast as money was taken in, new material had to be added to

the plant. I purchased a small job-press at Winfield and paid $15 to have it sent by express to Guthrie. It arrived at 11:30 p. m. and, in an hour's time, it was installed on the print shop and job work was being kicked off on it. Everybody was trying to get his sign up and his business started, so fancy prices were not objected to. On April 28th the new frame building was completed and the paper began to come out in approved style. As there were but three fonts of advertising type, those first issues were rare specimens of typography. One of the first necessities was furniture, so "Missouri," who was one of the unique early-day printers, climbed over the fence into Lou DeStuigger's lumber yard and secured a pine board. Then, a tramp printer who had drifted in—and all such were geniuses—sawed this board into very serviceable furniture for filling in the columns between the lines of advertising. Such was newspaper business under difficulties, and I mention this now as evidence of what can be done when one has to achieve the seemingly impossible.

"At first, part of the paper, with the general news of the outside world, came in the form of a 'ready-print' from the Winfield Courier, the local news being printed on a Washington hand press. But in a short time the State Capital was equipped with a Campbell cylinder press, with a battery of several job presses, all operated by steam power, with fairly good material—all bought with money that had been earned after the enterprise was inaugurated on the opening day. The average profits of the business were from $50 to $75 per day during the first twenty days.

"With the election of provisional officers and the organization of a de facto municipal government, the State Capital led a strenuous life. The first issues were about the hottest thing in the way of journalism that was ever seen in Oklahoma. I remember that, after the government of East Guthrie had been running for about fifty days, there was a belief that the money was being squandered as $10,000 had been raised in occupation taxes and there was not a dollar in the treasury, with nothing to show for it. The officers refused the State Capital access to the books. The management of the State Capital placed a man in the city clerk's office so, while the clerk was out, the books were secured. The editor of the State Capital, with one assistant, took

the books into the engine room of the printing plant and checked receipts and expenditures over, item by item.

"The next morning the paper presented full details of the financial transactions of the city government, with date and page of each item in the cashbook and many other things that the people wanted to know. And the peculiar thing about it was that, when the clerk returned to his office in the morning, he found the books in their proper place and apparently undisturbed.

"The editor had told no one how or when he came into Oklahoma, and no one knew except Millspaugh and Bruington. They saw the attitude of the paper on the 'sooner' question, yet never, to my knowledge, did either of them ever tell anyone of the romantic entrance of the trio into the promised land. 'Aub' Millspaugh was later postmaster at Winfield, Kansas, and Will Bruington is a leading hardware merchant of Pawnee, Oklahoma. As companions in such an adventure, they were princes and as friends, the truest and most loyal.

"The State Capital immediately saw that if it were to succeed, it must array itself vigorously on the side of the law-abiding citizens—the man who came in legally and who honestly tried to abide by the rules and regulations in the Government, in his effort to make a home in the new country. Personally, I made no further effort of any kind to claim land or town-lots and the paper became the hottest anti-sooner organ in the Territory. There was a terrible furor among the 'Sooners.' They accused Greer of being a 'sooner' and, therefore, a traitor of the 'sooners,' but Greer kept battling away for the law-abiding, non-sooner element. When the disputed East Guthrie townsite properties came up for trial, there was a determined attempt to show that Greer was a 'sooner.' Running through four hundred pages of typewritten testimony will be found the attempts of Dan Widmer and other attorneys of Ransom Payne and V. B. Paine to show that the editor of the State Capital was a 'sooner,' and that his paper was a part of a great conspiracy for the 'soonering' of East Guthrie. Greer denied nothing but kept the even tenor of his way and backed up the impartial and faithful enforcement of the land laws. The story of how I came into Oklahoma was never told until a few years ago, and it was only told

then because those troublesome days were past. The attitude of the State Capital had been vindicated. The Government had declared that a strict adherence to the laws and the rules promulgated in the Executive proclamation must be strictly construed and enforced and the paper advocated acceptance of that declared intention.

"Among the early-day rivals of the State Capital was Milton W. Reynolds, 'Kicking Bird,' who was the pioneer journalistic Oklahoma Booster, even back in the days of Capt. David L. Payne. We had many editorial tilts with him, but nothing of that kind ever disturbed the feeling of personal friendship which existed between us. He was a real newspaper man. I shall never forget with what tremor I looked over the fine printing plant which he installed on South Second Street about ten days after the opening. But the field soon became too strenuous for him and he sought a new location at Edmond. He was elected a member of the First Territorial Legislative Assembly but died before the date set for it to convene. He is now a sacred memory of the early newspaper life of the state.

"Another unique character in Oklahoma newspaperdom, who figured in early days at Guthrie, was Col. W. P. Thompson who established the Daily News. Thompson had been associated with the Kansas City Times, as also had Milt Reynolds. He essayed the long-haired western type. His was the most peculiar journalism ever seen in the West. He was too picturesque to last. He was said to have once been the mechanical superintendent of the New York Tribune. He was a man of wide experience and was possessed of much ability, of a strange ungovernable kind. He sold his paper to Winfield S. Smith in 1892. When last heard from, he was an inmate of the Confederate Soldiers' Home, in Tennessee. There were fifteen newspapers during the first year in Guthrie—there were no less than fifteen newspapers started, none of which lived a year. The State Capital supported D. P. Dyer for mayor of Guthrie in his first and second campaigns and won a signal victory in the election of James M. Dooley over D. M. Ross. One of the conspicuous features of that campaign were the seven charges brought against an opposition candidate, ranging from petty larceny to highway robbery and the spend-

ing of a thousand dollars to send a man to Missouri to get the proof. Hades will never be hotter than that campaign was.

"The editor of the State Capital was secretary of the first townsite meeting held in Guthrie. Its chairman was Major Constantine, of Wisconsin, a man of fine presence and excellent ability. He stood in a wagon and nearly 15,000 people were present, nearly all men. There were but five women then on the townsite. One of the cherished memories of this meeting was the presence of my mother. After the chairman and secretary had been elected, my mother, who was the only woman visible in the crowd, raised her hand and said: 'Mr. Chairman, we are about to open the chief city of a great, new commonwealth. We are to have a country here, rich in resources and full of possibilities. We should not start such a city or begin life in such a country without first asking for the blessing of God upon our doings.'

"The chairman then called upon Mrs. Greer to lead in prayer, and I remember the fervency of that prayer and of how she referred to the great future that was before the people of Oklahoma and asked that Divine Wisdom would guide the people in their deliberations and lead their footsteps in the paths of righteousness. Seven years later, a few days before the end of her earthly journey, she reminded me of that incident, stating that it was one of the proudest services of her life to have been privileged to offer the first prayer in a public meeting in Guthrie.

"The early days of the State Capital and of Guthrie were full of romance, the details of which are still familiar to many of the people. The editor was but a boy when the State Capital was founded. The oldest man around the shop was W. H. Wilson, a Christian minister, from Missouri. Wilson was solicitor for advertising and for job work, and people generally, over the townsite, regarded him as 'the old man' and publisher of the paper, and myself as the son. Wilson was very loyal to the State Capital and he got into occasional rows trying to sustain the reputation of the 'old man' and answering personally for that which appeared in the paper during those turbulent days. One of my distinct recollections is of a round-up which he had with a German clothier, from Fort Scott, Kansas. There was something in the paper that the Fort Scott man did not like and, in the heat of the argument, he called Wilson a liar. Wilson having been

something of an athlete, very quickly sent the German through a show-case and then left the building. The German, who was in his shirt-sleeves and bleeding as if he were just from a butcher's block, rushed into the office and said: 'Bub, vere iss your Vadder?' I said: 'I guess he is up town.' 'Vell, I come to apologice. He vass der best man. I called him a liar and you see how I look now. Bub, tell der old man to come down and I set him up. He vas a great vighter and I vant to shake him mit der friendly hand.' Wilson is now on a homestead in Roger Mills County, still virile, preaching occasionally and the savant of his neighborhood.

"On the Sunday prior to March 30, 1889, Govenor Humphrey, Lieutenant Governor Felt and a number of other prominent Kansans came through Oklahoma in a special Pullman car. The Governor and the other state officers who belonged to the State Board of Railway assessment, had been out over the state in the performance of that special duty and they concluded to spend Sunday in seeing Oklahoma before it was opened to settlement. The bill had passed Congress March 3d, but the presidential proclamation setting the date for the formal opening had not yet been issued. En route to Oklahoma, the party stopped in Winfield, where Wm. P. Hackney (an attorney of the Santa Fe Railway Company), my brother (Ed. P. Greer) and I joined it. We alighted from the train at Purcell, Oklahoma City and Guthrie. We all walked up the hill from the railway station at Guthrie and remarked upon the beauty of the town site. Yet most of the members of the party seemed to prefer the site of Oklahoma City to that of Guthrie. Practically all of the crowd tried to persuade me to start my newspaper venture at Oklahoma City instead of at Guthrie. The forms for the first issue of the State Capital were then made up, with space reserved for the President's proclamation for the opening of Oklahoma, and were being held till the proclamation was issued. The date line of the paper was then Guthrie. At first I was inclined to their view and, after I returned home to Winfield, I went to the composing room, took out the type of the date line and replaced the name Guthrie with Oklahoma City. When the proclamation came out, however, locating one of the Government district land offices at Guthrie, I restored the name of Guthrie to the date line.

"The next time I came into Oklahoma was after the proclamation had been issued, but some days before the date set for the opening; namely, on April 13th. Capt. W. L. Couch, who had succeeded Capt. David L. Payne, as the leader of the 'Boomers,' after the death of the latter, was making a trip into Oklahoma and he persuaded me to accompany him. Our first stop was at Guthrie, and that night I slept on the Guthrie town site for the first time. Captain Couch and I slept in wall bunks in the little red section house. He occupied a lower berth and I had an upper berth. Our supper was eaten out of doors and the biscuits which we ate had been baked in an old fashioned Dutch oven. After supper we went down to the Cottonwood River and sat with our feet hanging over the bank. Looking down into the crystal clear waters of the Cottonwood, Captain Couch detailed to me how he and Payne had located at Stillwater, then on the North Canadian and finally near Oklahoma City and other places and how they had come in and been driven out many times. We stopped again at Oklahoma City where there was simply the railway station, the commissary and quartermasters warehouse, whence military stores intended for Fort Reno were temporarily housed before being freighted to that post by wagon. Then, going on through to Purcell, we returned again to Oklahoma City, Monday night. Captain Couch was a great partizan of Oklahoma City, then as ever afterward. He did his best to persuade me to locate at Oklahoma City and start my paper there.

"It will be remembered that Couch took a claim immediately west of Oklahoma City where he was killed by a rival claimant. His widow had a long struggle to try to hold the claim but she finally lost it.

"Couch was a man of real ability and considerable refinement. No one would suspect from his appearance that he was a rough and tumble pioneer boomer he was reputed by the press to be prior to the final opening of the country. Of his courage and honesty there has never been any doubt. He was companionable and possessed of a seemingly endless fund of authentic reminiscences. Oklahoma never had a more devoted citizen."

When Frank Greer settled at Guthrie, on the day of the opening of the Oklahoma country, it meant a great change in his life. At Winfield he had been the younger brother and understudy of the editor and publisher of the leading newspaper of Winfield and Cowley County. At Guthrie, events and his own personality so shaped his destiny that he became the editor and publisher of what was not only the leading journalistic exponent of the community but of the newly peopled territory as well. From thence onward, he sat in every caucus, conference or council that was hastily convened to consider the best interests of Guthrie in every crisis. His fellow consultants in such gatherings were all his seniors in years and most of them were past-masters and post-graduates in the gentle art of political intrigue. Always before such a session was closed Greer would be called upon for an expression of opinion and, usually, he held his own with the wisest of the older heads on such discussions. Likewise, when matters of grave concern to the interest of the whole territory had to be weighed by its wise men, there, Frank Greer was also called into conference. He seemed to have a personal interest in every public institution in Oklahoma.

Frank Greer was one of the founders and organizers of the Oklahoma Press Association, of which he served as vice-president in 1894-5 and as president, in 1904-5. He attended the sessions of the National Editorial Association and, on such occasions, he was the life of the Oklahoma delegation. He once received the unanimous endorsement and support of the press associations of both Oklahoma and Indian Territory for the presidency of the National Association but was defeated in the election. He was ever a strong and unyielding partizan of any and every cause which he espoused, and it was the object of his devotion. Born and reared in Kansas, of Free State pioneer stock, it went without saying that his political affiliations were with the Republican Party. He supported Guthrie in its struggle to hold the territorial capital in the First Legislative Assembly, yet, when that struggle was over, he still held many warm friendships in the communities with which he had had to take issue. Two years later, in 1892, he was elected to membership in the Territorial House of Representatives, in the sessions of which he served with ability and keen attention to details. Among his fellow repre-

sentatives was Dan W. Peery who, as a member of the Oklahoma County delegation in the House during the sessions of the First Territorial Legislative Assembly in 1890-91, had had a prominent and rather exciting part in the effort to have the Territorial capital removed to Oklahoma City. In an October, 1893, issue of the Yukon **Register,** there appeared the following item:

"Mr. Peery, ex-legislator and boodler, called on us yesterday. He is engaged in the legitimate business of running a threshing machine. We hope he will shell out more satisfactory results than he did as a member of the legislature. If we remember correctly he was a member of the first Oklahoma legislature, the man who stole the bill removing the capital from Guthrie. He is now a partner of M. L. Stanley, the late member of the legislature who was was accused of selling out to the democrats for $500.00. We are glad to say that Mr. Peery and Mr. Stanley are now both engaged in legitimate enterprises. Mr. Stanley is running a livery stable and Mr. Peery a threshing machine."

Commenting upon this slurring item, Frank Greer, from the viewpoint of a radically different partizan alignment, had the following to say about Dan Perry:

"The **Register** does Mr. Peery a grave injustice. **The State Capital** will not allow misrepresentation of any man that it knows to be honorable. If there are any honest men in Oklahoma, Dan Peery is one of them. He is honest in his political convictions, honest in all his business relations, honest in his friendships and in his aversions—and conscientious in all things. His honesty stood the test in the first legislature; in the last legislature Peery's integrity stood as firm as a rock. No man who knew him was foolish enough to try to bribe him—those who tried it were spurned and their projects thereafter had his opposition. Peery was one of the best members of the last legislature; a hard, conscientious worker, an uncompromising democrat, liberal in his treatment of measures and of fellow members.

"Dan is not too high toned to run a threshing machine or to do anything that is honorable, and that is more than can be said of hundreds of young men in Oklahoma.

"Looking at Dan Peery as a man, and knowing him as the **State Capital** does we pronounce him cleanest among Oklahoma democrats."

At the annual meeting of the Oklahoma Press Association, held at Kingfisher, May 26, 1893, Mr. Greer was one of the supporters of the movement to organize the Oklahoma Historical Society and was elected as one of its first board of directors. He served continuously on the directorate and was vice-president of the Society for a number of years, as also a member of its executive committee. His service in these capacities was distinguished for faithfulness and devotion and he was seldom if ever absent from any meeting, either regular or called, until after statehood, when pressure of business affairs began to interfere with his attendance. In those days, the directors of the Historical Society were nearly all newspaper men of the public-spirited, self-sacrificing type. Under the guidance of such a directorate, it was modest in its aims and achievements, yet it laid the foundation for more pretentious attainments and manifestations in more recent times. Frank Greer's part in its counsels in those days of small beginnings was a matter of no mean importance.

It is not known whether Frank Greer had any part with other Republican politicians in the colonization of Guthrie and certain other portions of Logan County with negro settlers in the fore part of 1890 "in order to make the city and county both safely Republican," but if he did do so, he doubtless repented for it afterward. Upon one occasion, several years afterward, the "Afro-American" Republicans of Logan County bolted the party ticket in a body and made a full set of nominations of their own. Matters began to look blue for the regular Republican county ticket, likewise very blue for the county printing in the State Capital office, where revenue from that source was sorely needed. County leaders, scouting about, found out that Afro-American leaders were willing to sell out but that they should have fancy prices on such a deal. Then Frank Greer announced in a caucus over the situation that he thought he could solve the problem without any cash outlay. Accordingly, the following evening, accompanied by a friend he dropped into a rally of the "Afro-American" malcontents, which was being held in an empty store

building three or four doors below the State Capital office, on the opposite side of the street. Old "Judge" Napier Perkins ("The Old African Lion"), of leonine-voice, of aldermanic physique and of a dark coffee color, who was presiding over the deliberations of the occasion, immediately became excited and began to sputter: "Mistah Greeah, what does you-all want heah?" only to be waved aside by a graceful gesture of Greer's hand, as he answered: "Oh, go on with your meeting, boys, we do not want to interrupt or interfere—after you are through we may have a few words to say." But it was noticeable that the audience lost interest in the speech of the speaker of the occasion and the speaker noticing that fact, too, soon brought his address to a conclusion, whereupon the presiding officer of the meeting said: "Now, Mistah Greeah, we's ready to listen to you-all." Arising to his feet, Greer first faced the audience and said: "Boys, we did not come here to bother you; I just have something to say to the chairman of this meeting, but you can listen to what I have to say, if you want to do so." Then, turning toward the expectant chairman, he said: "Judge Napier Perkins, I want you to tell this audience what you did with that $4,640.80 that Old 'Cap' Taylor paid to you in the alley in the rear of Old Mose's saloon, at half past eight o'clock last Tuesday evening." ("Cap" Taylor was treasurer of the Democratic county committee of Logan County and, as such, probably had not handled $64.80 of party campaign money since assuming the duties of that position). Chairman Napier Perkins began to sputter and stutter in protest, but was silenced by Greer who said: "Don't try to explain to me—make your explanations to these boys." Frank Greer and the friend who had accompanied him picked up their hats and left "Judge" Perkins to " 'splain de inexplicable." With practically the entire audience demanding to be informed what the chairman of the meeting "done wid all dat money"; the independent Afro-American Republican movement speedily collapsed.

Reared and trained in what had originally been a small-town, country newspaper print-shop, Greer was master of the mechanics of newspaper production. So, too, he had edited rural correspondence, written local news and even occasionally tried his hand in grinding out editorial copy. And, of course, he had

to be a close student of advertising and circulation management in order to keep such an enterprise as the Daily State Capital afloat. Naturally, as the business expanded, attention to the management of the organization called for an increasing share of his personal attention. Though he delighted in writing, his time and attention was under such constant requisition in the buisness office that there was but little opportunity to engage in writing, so employes on the editorial staff did most of that. However, when a really interesting news item had come under his personal observation, or a crisis in public affairs seemed to call for a dignified and incisive editorial expression he could, and did, forget business cares for the nonce, and write in pleasing style. Generally, he wrote by hand, with pen or pencil, as he had had but little limited acquaintance with the keys of a typewriter. But, however pleasing his diction and power of expression, his chirography was reputedly as atrocious as that for which Horace Greely had been noted. An interesting story in that connection is related by Earl Croxton, who was in the service of the State Capital for a number of years, as reporter, local writer and, finally, as managing editor. As he tells the story it relates to another member of the staff. It reads as follows:

"Al Hough, head linotyper in the composing room had the distinction of being able to read Frank Greer's handwriting without difficulty, so when the Chief turned in any copy, it was always turned over to Hough. A peripatetic news writer, Frank B. Elser, had dropped in just when such help was needed and was put to work, temporarily, at least. We were not allowed much for salaries in those days, but I promised Elser to try to get better pay for him at the first opportunity, though, at the time, I had no idea how it could be done. But, as it turned out, Elser 'got in bad' with Mr. Greer and spoiled all of my plans for trying to keep him.

"It all happened because of Greer's handwriting. He had been in the office while Elser was out and had written a short feature story. He handed the copy to Joe Satterthwait, a reporter, and left the office for a few moments. Elser returned just then and Satterthwait handed Greer's copy to Elser, but without explanation as to who had written it. To this day, I have no idea how Elser succeeded in reading what Greer had

written, though, evidently he did read it. Naturally, he thought it was in Joe's handwriting and so he immediately began to dress Joe down. Satterthwait was informed that it was the best local story that had been submitted for that edition but that the handwriting was abominable, adding that he would accept no more like it. Mr. Greer happened to return to the office just in time to hear all of Elser's comments. Elser was let out shortly afterward. He went from Guthrie to Kansas City, where he worked for a time. Thence he went to New York City, where, in his work on the Sun, he abundantly justified the faith that we had in him. During the World War he was in London, helping to handle war news for the Associated Press. Later, we learned that he became a successful playright."

The years sped by. The youth who had come to Guthrie on the opening day to establish the first newspaper in Oklahoma, had developed into a man with all of the attributes of leadership in community and in commonwealth. He had built up the largest and most important publishing enterprise in Oklahoma and also its most important commercial printing and binding establishment. Then there came a Sabbath day, nearly a dozen years after the beginning, when the State Capital plant all went up in flames and smoke, with a money loss of nearly $200,000 and only $26,000 of insurance. The people of Guthrie promptly raised a subscription of $50,000 for him to use in his own business, as long as he might want it, but he declined to accept it in any form other than as personal loans to be paid back with interest. Moreover, the business men of Oklahoma City sent a committee to wait on him and offer to duplicate the destroyed plant if he would install and operate it in Oklahoma City, but his loyalty to the community which he had helped found and build, and whose people had always been his neighbors and friends, was such that he could not consider such a change, so he declined the Oklahoma City offer and cast his lot anew with Guthrie. And Guthrie's interests were his interests, regardless of personal inclinations, preferences or predilections. Thus, when the final struggle arose as to whether the two territories should be admitted into the Union as one state or as two states, for reasons of purely local policy the people of Guthrie espoused the two-state side of the controversy, when it had small chance of win-

ning, and Frank Greer joined whole-heartedly with them in the support of their chosen course, even when it was apparently a losing proposition. Likewise, his attitude toward the adoption of the state constitution and toward the first state administration, reflected the sentiment of his home-town folk and, ultimately, aroused a spirit of antagonism which resulted in the premature removal of the capital and its location at Oklahoma City. With this there came also the collapse of his business affairs and the death of the wife of his youth, after which he left Guthrie and settled at Tulsa, to essay a new start in life, in other lines than those which he had hitherto followed.

When Frank Greer went to Tulsa after bidding a hasty farewell to the scene of the dreams and early successes of his youth, he was "down," for the time being, but a long way from being "out." For a number of years prior to that time, Tulsa had been experiencing a growth and development in population, wealth, commerce and industry that was without precedent, with the possible exception of San Francisco during the years immediately following the discovery of gold in California. Up to that time, Frank Greer had been known in Tulsa only as an ultra partizan of separate statehood, of opposition to the adoption of the state constitution and as the champion of Guthrie in its efforts to hold the state capital but, to Tulsa, with its eyes upon the future, these were no longer issues—they belonged to the past. Other Guthrie men had preceded Greer to Tulsa, so he was not lacking in the element of introduction, neither was Tulsa lacking in an accurate appraisal of the man and his ability. So, Frank H. Greer was welcomed to Tulsa, where many another man had come before him to essay a new start in life—and had succeeded. The light of courage was still in his eyes. He was pleased with the Tulsa welcome, which he accepted modestly. He embarked in a line of business that was new to him. He was industrious and enegetic. He appreciated the loyalty of old friends and friendships and he attracted a great circle of new friends and associations, though he did not seek prominence. Slowly, prosperity began to return to him. Shortly after his settlement in Tulsa, he met Mrs. Laura Leigh Hanson, a lady of recognized culture, gifted with a gracious personality and unusual mentality. Their marriage followed. His home life, which had ended almost

simultaneously with the collapse of his business organization in Guthrie, was thus happily restored and, with this came new inspiration and renewed business ambition. All seemed to augur well for the future. His home was congenial. His business prospects were satisfactory. His wife was the soul of loyalty and devotion as she was his wisest counselor, and, also, as of old, his favorite diversion was to find rest and relaxation in the companionship of the books in his home library. Then came failing health and lack of strength to devote personal attention to business affairs. The spirit of the wolf-pack, ever present in an atmosphere of tensest human activity and ever jealous of outstanding business achievement, as well as fairly familiar with the methods of an all too prevalent receivership racket, was not slow to seize upon a pretext to twist factual transaction into fictitious misdeed, when the man most concerned was flat on his back, unable to consult with his attorney, to say nothing of going into court and personally appearing in defense of his own interests, so, a solvent business enterprise was forced into an unwarranted receivership, while trumped up charges were made the basis of indictment. Throughout all of this, Mrs. Greer shielding her husband from calumny while ministering to him in his failing strength, nobly stood by him and resented the aspersions thus cast upon his integrity and fairness as a business man, but, despite all that could be done to save him who had helped and lifted and befriended his fellow men, he was struck down by envious spirits who, for the sake of paltry personal gains, were willing to rend and wreck and ruin him at the end of life's journey.

The end came to Frank Greer on August 8, 1933, just a few days past his 71st birthday anniversary. The funeral services which were of the simplest and most unostentatious order, were largely attended but they were not few that mourned elsewhere, for there were hosts of friends in remote parts of the state who had known him in pioneering days. The foregoing sketch of his life and career cannot be more fittingly closed than by appending the tribute which was paid to his memory by Walter Ferguson, likewise a brilliant personality, product of generations of pioneer forbears, who, in his own person, had been reared under pioneering conditions in Oklahoma and who, but a few weeks since, crossed that Great Divide toward which all pioneers are trudging:

"To me, the death of Frank Greer is more than the passing of an individual—it is the passing of an age. When we say long, final farewell to Frank Greer, we bid an eternal farewell to an epoch. So long has Greer typified the spirit of Old Oklahoma that his death seems to mark the border-line between this age and yesterday.

"History is filled with the praises of men who have taken a city, but there is too little said of these who built one. Greer not only built the typical, outstanding city of young Oklahoma, but he exercised and emphasized a leadership in creating the structure of an American state, more than any other man connected with the enterprise.

"In the tremendous shifting of interests following statehood, the intervening World War and the confusion of the past four years of economic disorder, we are perhaps too prone to forget primitive beginnings, the pioneer efforts of those who fought the initial battle.

"Frank Greer came to Guthrie, April 22, 1889, to found his home in a city of tents and confusion, but of hopes and dreams. The most cosmopolitan crowd, with the most varied interests ever assembled on an American townsite were in Guthrie and with no semblance of order, outline or program. There was no law save that the weak should perish and only the strong survive. New leaders were in their places and their domination over men, and the foundation was laid for a future American state. Law and order had to be established; property rights had to be made secure, houses were to be built—and only those with faith and vision were to last.

"Greer, a determined, resolute, intrepid character, filled with the fiery zeal of a crusader—imbued with the spirit of the Kansas pioneer, determined to be one of the leading actors in the rapidly unfolding drama and setting about to bring order out of chaos, distributed a newspaper which he had caused to be printed in a border Kansas town, a few days before. It was merely the announcement that Frank Greer would edit the dominant newspaper in the new territorial capital and that the paper proposed to be the leading force in the development and building of the

new territory. His arrival had such unmistakable signs of determination and resolution on this never-again-to-be-witnessed scene, the thousands of strangers camped on this primitive townsite on the banks of the Cottonwood knew that one of their future leaders was a tall young editor by the name of Frank Greer. The type on this paper was set by Omer K. Benedict, another great Oklahoman who passed away only a few weeks ago.

"Rapidly shaping his plans, Greer organized his office force, gathered together the scattered material and created a plant for the production of a newspaper. In a short time he was printing the Guthrie State Capital. Every issue was a challenge to the innumerable rivals that were bidding for public attention. Under Greer's dominant and forceful leadership, it survived the early stages of indiscriminate competition and when law came to 'the last American frontier' and the forms and functions of government by co-operative effort, Greer's paper forged to the front as the voice of Oklahoma Territory.

"Setting about to make Guthrie the dominant city of Oklahoma Territory, Greer faced every form of townsite rivalry and railroad promotion and built the most colorful, glamorous and picturesque that the pioneer West ever knew—went down the long, long trail to statehood, when the political changes that, in those days, meant so much to the existence of a newspaper, brought the end of his effort. His paper died in a hopeless fight, with its back against the wall, trying to save the city which he had almost built with his own hands and which was the child of his brilliant mind. He refused to see that Guthrie,—the Republican city, was doomed as the future capital of the future Democratic State of Oklahoma, to which Oklahoma Territory had been added, and he went down with his colors flying and his face to the enemy.

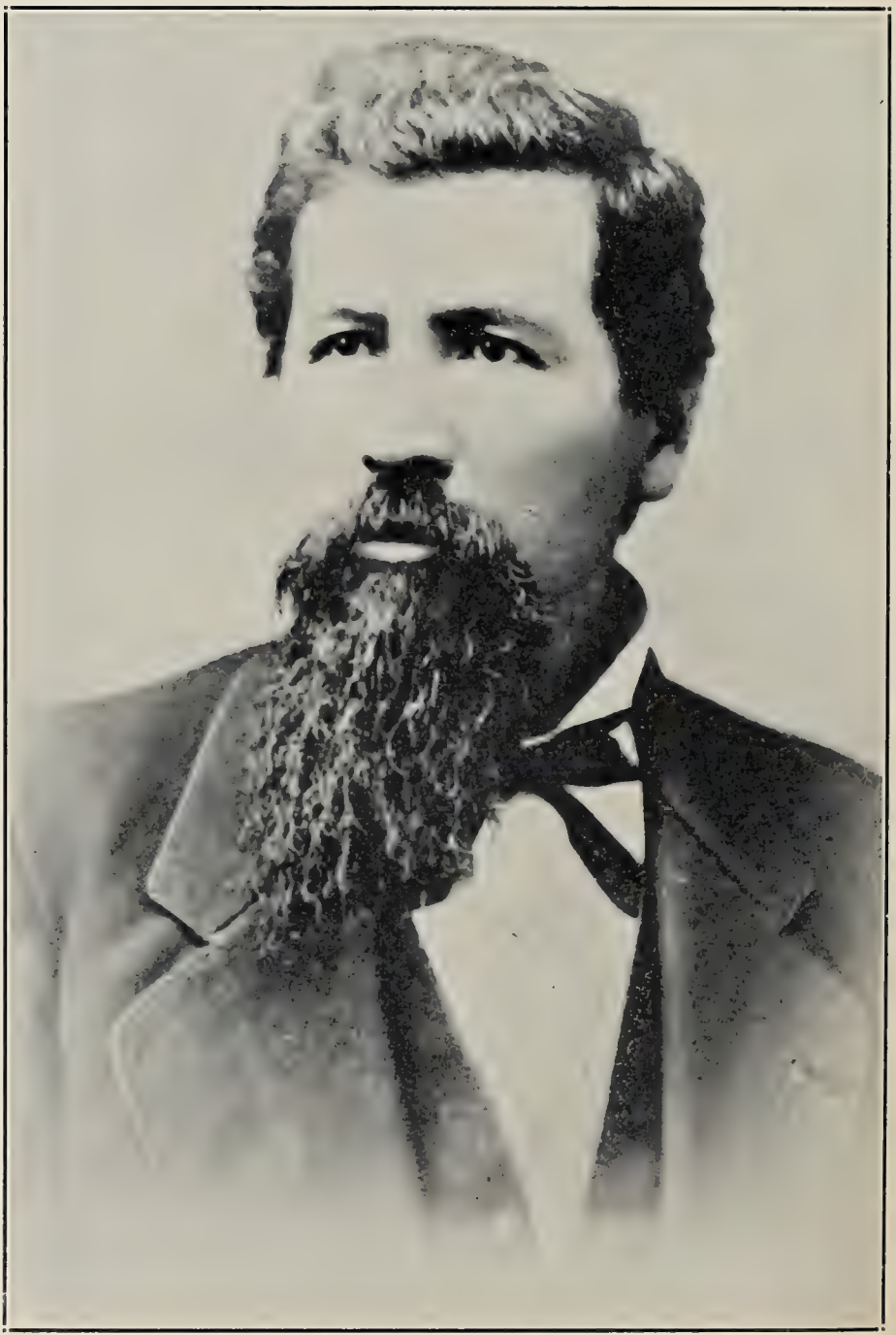
"So violent was the terrific struggle between Oklahoma City and Guthrie for supremacy that it resembled the county-seat wars of Kansas. The railroads, which held the potent influence, were doing everything to make Oklahoma City the metropolis. —Only the Guthrie Capital flew the flag of Guthrie's defiance and, putting his tremendous personality, and his wonderful brain and magnificent courage into every page and every line of the morn-

ing paper, Greer held for Guthrie the power which a leading newspaper of a state or territory can give a city.

"Frank Greer was a striking personality of the early days, perhaps, and certainly to me, the most outstanding. He was a vigorous, aggressive, courageous editor. Every issue of his paper reflected his remarkable individuality. The files of the old Guthrie Capital comprise a history of early Oklahoma, and the proud lines penned so fearlessly and so tirelessly by Frank Greer constitute the saga of its people.

"He was the poet and the prophet of that vast romance and to those in the years to come, who read his chronicles, he will ever be the embodiment of the spirit of Oklahoma."

—JOSEPH B. THOBURN.



EDWARD WILKERSON BUSHYHEAD
From a photograph belonging to Mrs. Carolyn McNair McSpadden, Tahlequah

EDWARD W. BUSHYHEAD and JOHN ROLLIN RIDGE,

Cherokee Editors in California

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman

Two of the Cherokee Indians who went to California during the gold rush remained there and became well-known and honored citizens whose histories are recalled at intervals in newspaper stories published about them in their adopted state. Edward W. Bushyhead and John Rollin Ridge joined the gold-seekers in 1850. Both suffered severe hardships to which they were not accustomed since they had been reared in comfort, one in the Indian Territory and the other in Arkansas.

Edward Wilkerson Bushyhead, born in Cleveland, Tennessee, March 2, 1832,[1] was the son of the Rev. Jesse Bushyhead and Eliza Wilkerson Bushyhead. He was only seven years old when the Cherokees were ruthlessly forced from their comfortable homes in Georgia by white people who were determined to possess themselves of the land of the Indians. Jesse Bushyhead, one of the best-loved and most highly respected men of his nation, led a party of one thousand of his people into the wilderness; this journey was one of terrible hardships, not the least being a delay of one month on the east bank of the Mississippi River, where the ice running madly, prevented the outcasts from proceeding on their way. When the western side of the river was reached a sister was born to young "Ned" Bushyhead and from the place of her birth she was named Missouri, preceded by Eliza in honor of her mother.[2]

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[1]*History of San Diego County* . . . Lewis Publishing Company (Chicago, 1890), p. 273.

[2]For an account of Eliza Missouri Bushyhead Alberty see *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX, No. 1, (March, 1931), pp. 43-55. Judge Henry M. Furman in a report to the Grand Lodge A. F. & A. M. of Indian Territory at its 31st annual communication reported: "Allow me to commend to you as an example of pure charity a noble woman . . . a Cherokee Indian, and the widow of a Master Mason. She lives at Tahlequah and is affectionately called by every one 'Aunt Eliza' . . . . while we have been professing Masonry this woman has been living

The Bushyhead family, with other Indians, settled near the Arkansas line at a place called Breadtown because rations were issued there when the Cherokee refugees arrived from the East. This location later became known as Baptist Mission. There the *Cherokee Messenger* was published and the mission contributed substantially to the advancement of the Cherokees. The Rev. Jesse Bushyhead was chief justice of the Cherokee Nation at the time of his death in 1844.

That same year young Edward Bushyhead learned the printer's trade and no doubt helped to set type on the *Cherokee Messenger,* first issued in August, 1844—the first periodical published in the present State of Oklahoma. Later Bushyhead worked at his trade in Fort Smith, Arkansas.

"In 1850 he crossed the plains to California, stopping near Placerville, El Dorado Co., . . . a year afterward removed to Tuolumne Co., and followed mining there two years, and afterward in Calaveras Co. In the latter place he engaged in printing until 1868" when he removed to San Diego, "bringing with him printing-office material, with which he started the San Diego *Union.*"[3]

In connection with William Jeff Gatewood, Bushyhead had been publishing a newspaper at San Andreas, Calaveras County, where he acted as foreman. Their outfit reached San Diego September 19, 1868 and Bushyhead was so unimpressed with the place that he would not allow his name to appear at the masthead. J. N. Briseno, office boy of the establishment, was given as the publisher. The equipment consisted of an old Washington hand press and a good assortment of type. The office was in a frame building next door to the parsonage in Old Town, the earliest settled portion of San Diego.

On October 3 the partners issued a prospectus for their paper in which they stated that no political tirades or personal abuse

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Masonry. As royal blood flows through her veins as ever came from the heart of any queen. . . Let her memory be perpetuated and handed down as a sweet and precious legacy and as an example to posterity. . . . I trust that the Grand Lodge will erect a monument to her memory upon our Orphans' Home grounds with her figure upon its top holding an orphan child in her arms. . ." Mrs. Alberty is said to have reared and educated at least twenty orphans.

[3]*History of San Diego County,* pp. 273-74.

would ever appear in its columns. Politically, the paper was to be neutral. The first number of the San Diego *Union* appeared October 10, 1868. It was a four-page, six-column quarto and contained fifteen and a half columns of reading matter, well set up and printed. The *Union* had a hard struggle with a subscription list of slightly less than a thousand and poor advertising patronage.[4]

Gatewood sold his interest in the *Union* to Charles P. Taggart in May, 1869, the firm becoming Taggart and Bushyhead. Prosperity followed this change and Taggart soon bought out Frederick A. Taylor, late of San Francisco. The sheet was enlarged to seven columns on January 20, 1869, and on May 12, William S. Dodge became Bushyhead's partner.

The office of the *Union* was moved June 23, 1870, and on the 30th of that month the paper was issued from Horton's Addition to the city of San Diego. The building stood at the southeast corner of Fourth and D streets. On September 22, 1870, Dodge retired being succeeded by Douglas Gunn who had previously been a printer and reporter on the *Union.* A great achievement of the paper was the printing in full of the president's message, which was received by telegraph, "A piece of newspaper enterprise never before attempted by any 'country paper' in the United States."[5]

In the spring of 1871 there were only two daily papers in Southern California when Bushyhead and his partner brought out the first daily in San Diego, March 20, 1871. Strenuous days followed for the publishers who were obliged to work like slaves to make a success of their enterprise. They paid out $1,200 for telegraph news the first year and $2,000 the following year. This partnership had lasted almost three years when Bushyhead retired in June, 1873, receiving $5,000 as his share of the business.[6]

Publication of the weekly edition of the *Union* was continued and the publishers advertised April 1, 1871, that "The Daily Union is now delivered at every inhabited house in San Diego

[4]*History of San Diego County,* 1542-1907 . . . by William E. Smythe, San Diego, 1907, pp. 479-484.

[5]*Ibid.*

[6]*Ibid.*

save three.'' The yearly subscription was $10.00. For some time John P. Young was on the staff of the *Union* and he later became managing editor of the San Francisco *Chronicle.*[7]

From 1875 to 1882 Bushyhead served as deputy sheriff of San Diego County.[8] He was then elected sheriff by the Republican Party and he was re-elected in 1884,[9] having been nominated both times by acclamation. Bushyhead became an Odd Fellow in 1861 and he was also a Knight Templar. On July 1, 1889 he became a partner in the printing firm of Gould, Hutton & Company. He was married on December 14, 1876, to Mrs. Helen Corey Nichols, who was born in New York, August 13, 1839. The ceremony was held at the Lick House in San Francisco and the vows read by Hon. E. D. Wheeler. Bushyhead built a residence at 1114 Cedar Street, San Diego, at the corner of Third Street.[10]

Bushyhead was chief of police of San Diego [11] and he was said to be " . . . a hard worker, a generous man and a warm-hearted friend.''[12] Mr. and Mrs. Bushyhead adopted a daughter whom they named Cora but she lived only a few years. After

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[7]*City of San Diego and San Diego County* . . . by Clarence Alan McGrew, (Chicago and New York, 1922), Vol. I, p. 289.

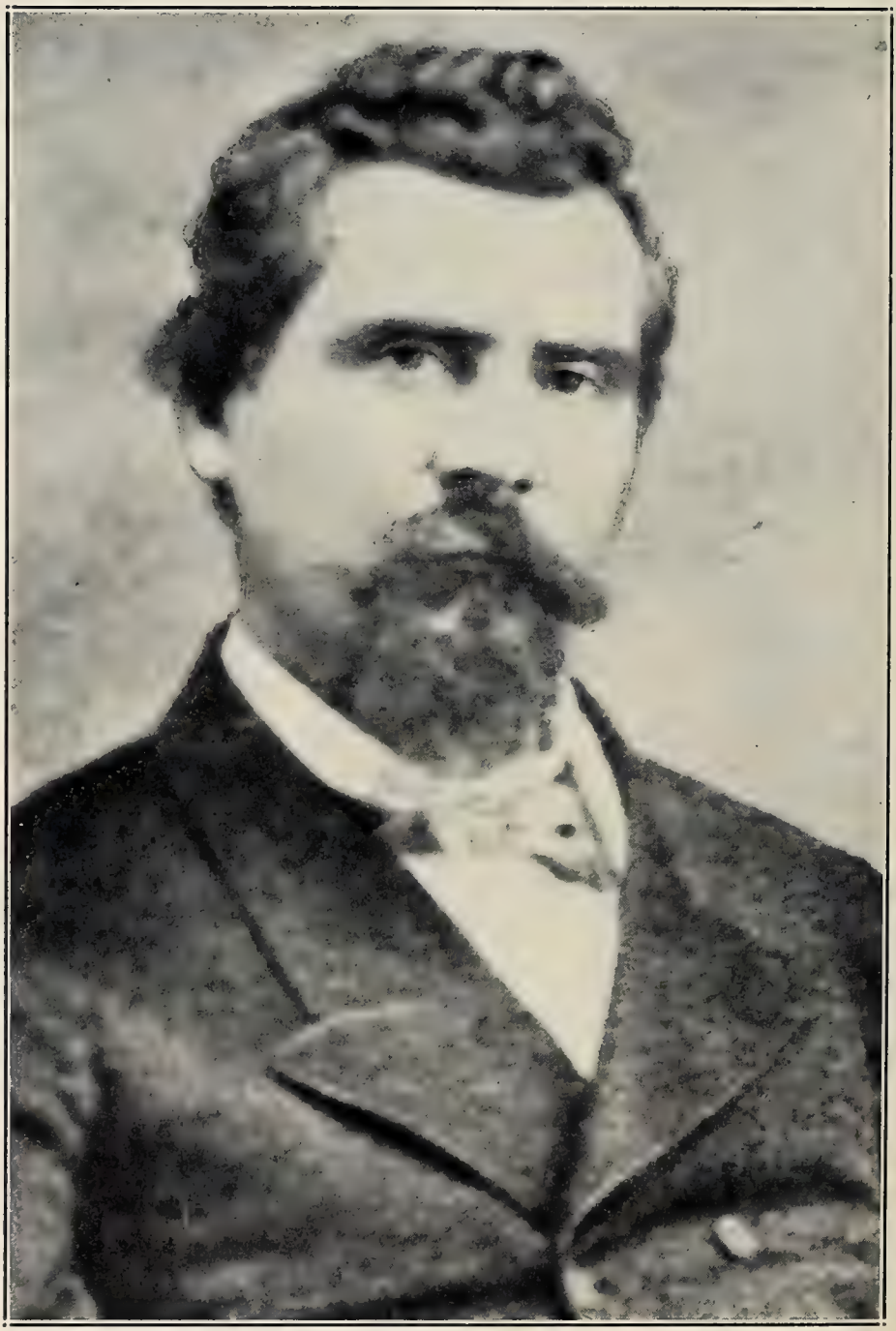
[8]"Mr. Bushyhead has lately made a tour of eastern, western and southern states, spending most of the winter in Washington. He is a newspaper manager of ability and as a job printer has no superior on the coast . . ." The *Daily Union* (date missing) wrote: "Mr. Bushyead is an old liner in Democracy, a Southerner by birth, a sympathizer with secession . . . But the base use to what they call Democracy in his country has been put has driven him from his old party. He is now a Republican, or, more properly, a liberal Democrat. . ."

[9]"Mr. Edward W. Bushyhead, the nominee for sheriff, is well known to every voter in the county as an upright, straightforward man, honorable in all his dealings, sincere in his relations to others, and true to every obligation resting upon a good citizen. He is a man of remarkable executive ability, fine business capacity, great decision of character, and unquestioned courage." (*Daily Union*, date missing). The San Bernardino *Index* wrote of Bushyhead when he was renominated for sheriff: "No better man could have been selected. Thoroughly honest, cool, brave and intrepid in times of danger; patient, wary and sagacious when on the trail of a criminal; courteous and gentle . . . generous almost to lavishness, he is a true type of a thorough American gentleman . . ."

[10]*History of San Diego County* . . . Lewis Publishing Company, Chicago 1890, p. 274.

[11]"We feel personally gratified at the election of E. W. Bushyhead as chief of police of San Diego. Ned Bushyhead is one of nature's noblemen. He is square as a die. As true as Toledo steel. As brave as Paladin. As generous as a child. He never knew the meaning of fear. . ." (*Redlands Citrograph*—date missing).

[12]It is a well known fact that Bushyhead was the means of bringing to justice many of the notorious and desperate criminals in California.



JOHN ROLLIN RIDGE

From a group picture taken of the Cherokee delegation in Washington in 1866.

Property of Mrs. Ann Scott Henson, Muskogee, Oklahoma.

her death a place was always set for her at the table as Mrs. Bushyhead was a spiritualist and she believed the girl was still with them. Mrs. Bushyhead was the next to go. Her death occurring July 26, 1901 at her home, 3123 C Street. She was sixty-two years of age and had lived in San Diego thirty-two years. Her remains were sent to Los Angeles for cremation according to the *Evening Tribune,* July 26, 1901.

Edward W. Bushyhead died suddenly on March 4, 1907, at Alpine where he had lived for several months hoping to benefit his health. He was seventy-five years old and his friends were numbered by the hundreds. In interviewing persons who knew him in San Diego the author was impressed by the high regard in which the memory of Mr. Bushyhead was held. One of his old friends on the *Union* remarked that if there are any more Cherokees like "Ned" Bushyhead in Oklahoma that they would be happy to have them come to San Diego to live.

Mr. Bushyhead's remains were at Johnson & Connell's Chapel at D and Seventh Street, San Diego until the body was shipped to Tahlequah, Indian Territory, the home of his sister, Mrs. Eliza Bushyhead Alberty, where it was interred in the family burying ground.[13] He rests with his brother, Chief Dennis Wolf Bushyhead; his sisters Mrs. Nancy Bushyhead McNair and Mrs. Eliza Missouri Bushyhead Alberty and her husband, Bluford Alberty.

John Rollin Ridge

Accounts of John Rollin Ridge, published in Oklahoma, describe him as a poet and fail to relate that he was one of the foremost editors of his day in the great state of California; that he was a magazine writer of note and a politician in a limited way. After a comprehensive search through the newspaper files and archives of California the writer has attempted to show herein the prominent position held by this Cherokee Indian in the state of his adoption.

The life span of Ridge carried him from his birthplace in the Eastern Cherokee Nation to his grave in California by way of Indian Territory and Arkansas. It is likely that his life

[13] *The San Diego Union,* March 5, 1907, p. 5, col. 4; *ibid.,* March 6, 1907, p. 14, col. 5.

would have been passed among his own people except for the murder of his brilliant father, John Ridge, as a result of a political feud among the Cherokees.

Rollin Ridge, as he was called by his family, was the eldest son of John Ridge and Sarah Northrup Ridge whose marriage at Cornwall, Connecticut created a great stir in the conservative New England village because of the Indian blood of the bridegroom. He was born on his father's estate "east of the Oss-te-nar-ly" in Georgia, March 19, 1827. His Indian name was Cheesquat-a-law-ny or Yellow Bird. The Ridge home was a large two-story house provided with every comfort and the boy attended a school built by his father and presided over by Miss Sophia Sawyer, a New England missionary, who made her home with the family. When Rollin was ten years old the school was discontinued owing to the disturbed state of affairs in the Cherokee Nation and the forced removal of his people to the West.

After the family was settled in the new Cherokee Nation, John Ridge provided another school building and Miss Sawyer resumed her teaching of the Ridge children with other young people of the neighborhood, invited to join the classes. At the age of twelve Rollin witnessed the tragic death of his father, stabbed to death in the presence of his wife and children, at his home on Honey Creek, June 22, 1839.

Mrs. Ridge, panic stricken by the murder of her husband, her father-in-law and their cousin, Elias Boudinot, hastily removed her children to Fayetteville, Arkansas where she established a new home. She was accompanied by the faithful Sophia Sawyer who started a school which proved to be one of the most popular establishments of the state, in its time. Young Ridge attended school for two years after which he went to Great Barrington, Massachusetts to continue his education.[14] He was

[14] " . . . the school which John Rollin Ridge attended in Great Barrington in 1841-43 was probably the Great Barrington Academy, for that is the school which seems to have been in existence there during that period. The school is mentioned in Part I of Charles J. Taylor's *History of Great Barrington*, 1928, p. 312. He says: 'The Great Barrington Academy, erected in 1841, by an association of citizens, incorporated for that purpose, was first placed in charge of the late James Sedgwick, who continued as its principal for eight or nine years, but eventually removed to Alabama. It was afterwards superintended for several years by a number of different teachers, without proving very successful, and was finally converted into a dwelling house'." (American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, February 18, 1936).

obliged to return to Arkansas on account of ill health and his education was continued under the tutelage of the Rev. Cephas Washbourne, missionary to the Cherokees.[15]

In 1847 Ridge was married to Elizabeth Wilson in the Cherokee Nation and a daughter was born whom they called Alice.[16] Several writers have stated that Ridge became involved in the still acute political feud in his nation, whch resulted in his killing one of the enemies of his party but a contemporary account of the unfortunate affair published in the *Fort Smith Herald,* Wednesday, June 6, 1849 (editorial page, col. 5), gives an entirely different version. Ridge fled to Missouri, leaving his wife and baby daughter in Arkansas. The story in the Fort Smith newspaper, copied from the *Arkansas Intelligencer* (Van Buren) related: "Fatal Recontre (*sic*) in the Cherokee Nation. We have been favored by a gentleman with the following account of a rencontre that came off, a short time since, between David Kell[17] and Rollin Ridge, which proved fatal to the former:

" 'Ridge missing his stallion, went to Kell's and enquired if he had been seen. 'There is a *gelding,*' said Kell, pointing to the animal, standing near a pool of blood. 'Who made him so,' said Ridge. 'I did,' replied K., 'and am willing to stand by my deeds with my life.' Ridge sprang from his horse to the ground. — Kell motioned to approach, when Ridge remarked that the disparity of their strength forbad that they should fight in close contact, 'and,' said he, drawing a pistol, 'if you approach me, you will lose your life.' Kell advanced. 'Stand back Kell,' said Ridge, 'advance any farther, and you die.' Kell advanced, and soon lay dead.' "

"This account is from a respectable source; yet it is too imperfect and partial to be considered as entirely reliable until

[15]Autobiography in the preface to *Poems* by John R. Ridge (San Francisco, 1868).

[16]Notes on John Rollin Ridge in California State Library, Sacramento, furnished by his daughter Alice Bird Ridge Beatty (Mrs. Francis G. Beatty).

[17]Sarah Bird Northrup Ridge wrote to Stand Watie from Osage Prairie, October 22, 1844: "If Mr. Kell has not yet brought the mules, & horses he promised to deliver to you on the first of this month I wish you, or John to see that he brings them soon, I need the mules now." (University of Oklahoma, Phillips Collection). According to Starr's *History of the Cherokee Indians,* David Kell was the brother of James, Andrew, John, Elizabeth, Rebecca, and Nannie Kell and his wife was Dorcas Corban, nee Duncan. In 1847 he was listed as a judge of Delaware District in the Cherokee Nation (pages 442, 284).

further particulars are heard. Our informant does not say how the difference originated between these men, who heretofore occupied a respectable standing in the community.—*Ark. Intelligencer.*

"The above statement is substantially what was told us by the Physician who attended upon Kell.—Ed. *Herald.*"

Ridge, at Springfield, Missouri, soon found himself sadly in need of funds. He was wholly dependent on the bounty of his grandmother Ridge and he was irked by the refusal of his mother to consider his return to the Nation, as she feared another tragedy. No doubt the women were glad to finance his passage to California with the party of Missouri gold-seekers.[18] He was to have been tried for murder in 1849 or the spring of 1850,[19] and his absence relieved his family of acute anxiety as to his fate. Ridge wrote his cousin Stand Watie that his life in California had been followed by bad luck and that he had "worked harder than any slave I ever owned. . . ."[20]

He first engaged in mining in Shasta County, California and during his residence in that state he made his home at Marysville, Weaverville, Red Bluff, Sacramento, San Francisco, and Grass Valley.[21] California proudly claims him as her own and it is true that he lived in that state for seventeen years; wrote many of his poems there; became a well-known editor, as well as a contributor to the best magazines published in the state, and he sleeps beneath her soil beside his wife and daughter.

Ridge ". . . had started on his first journey to the mining camps along Trinity river from Junction City to Taylor's Flat. We met and passed the night in the North Fork Hotel." Ridge invited all present in the bar room to drink "pulled out a buckskin gold-dust sack nearly a foot long, remarking that on his return from down the river it would be filled to the brim with coin and gold dust."[22]

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[18]*Chronicles of Oklahoma,* "John Rollin Ridge" by Edward Everett Dale, Vol. IV, No. 4, pp. 314-315.

[19]*Ibid.,* p. 317; *Southwest Review,* "John Rollin Ridge" by Angie Debo, Vol. 17, No. I, pp. 59-71.

[20]*Chronicles of Oklahoma, ibid.,* p. 317.

[21]Notes on Ridge by Alice Bird Ridge Beatty in California State Library, Sacramento.

[22]*Overland Magazine,* "Early California Journalism," August, 1904, p. 130.

Rollin Ridge ". . . figured conspicuously during the first fifteen years of California history." He was "different from any man I ever knew. He could be your warmest friend without ever giving an intimation of it." "No California newspaper of any political persuasion was handled with more dignity or true, manly bearing" than the *Marysville National Democrat* when Ridge was the editor. . . . he deprecated dueling, at least with fire-arms,[23] but he could fight as well as write and when Conmy, editor of the *Shasta Courier* called Ridge, then editor of the *Trinity National,* the 'Cayuse' editor Ridge met him in Andy Cusick's saloon in Shasta . . . reached out, and with one hand dipped Conmy's nose into the top of his glass, then bathed his either cheek in the fluid that had escaped on the bar."[24]

Ridge was described as a handsome man, of splendid physique and noble bearing. He had jet black hair and large dark eyes. In 1852 a weekly newspaper was started in San Francisco by J. McDonough Foard and Rollin M. Daggett. Horace Greeley spoke of this publication as " . . . the most remarkable paper" and "John R. Ridge, a half Cherokee and the handsomest man I ever saw, was quite a poet, and wrote for us under the name of 'Yellow Bird.' "[25] This paper was called the *Golden Era* and Ridge had for fellow-contributors to its pages, Francis Bret Harte, Mark Twain, Joaquin Miller, Charles Warren Stoddard, and Orpheus C. Kerr.

In 1854 Ridge wrote and published under his pen name, *The Life and Adventures of Joaquin Murietta.* A third edition of the book was issued in 1871 and the Grabhorn Press of San Francisco, in 1932, published a handsome volume containing the life of the noted and notorious bandit. Charles Elmer Upton in his *Pioneers of El Dorado* (Placerville, California, 1906, p. 2 of the foreword) acknowledged his indebtedness to Ridge's Murietta in compiling his book. It is said that Ridge realized no financial returns from the book owing to the failure of his publisher.

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[23] *Ibid.,* p. 128.

[24] *Ibid.,* p. 130.

[25] *The Story of the Files, a Review of California Writers and Literature* by Ella Sterling Cummins, 1893, pp. 14-17.

The young Cherokee first engaged in journalism in Marysville[26] and next at Sacramento where he was the first editor of the *Sacramento Bee,* which was started in February, 1857 and has been for years one of the most important newspapers in the state. Ridge then returned to Marysville where he edited the Express in 1858,[27] and later the *National Democrat.* "He was one of the first editors in California to denounce secession as treason and to insist that the Government must resist it with force if necessary.

"Ridge made a reputation as a dignified, courteous and forcible political writer . . . had a cultivated taste in letters, was a noted shot, and made many warm friendships . . ."[28] Colonel Richard Rust, on July 26, 1857, resigned the editorial chair of the *California Express* at Marysville to John R. Ridge. On November 6, of that year, W. F. Hicks and Company became the proprietors of the *Express* and they continued Ridge in editorial control of their publication until he resigned on August 4, 1858.[29]

James Allen sold his interest in the *Marysville Daily News* to Ridge, August 12, 1858 and he changed the name of the paper to the *Daily National Democrat.* This newspaper was established January 9, 1858 and when Ridge became the editor it had become "an advocate of Douglas Democracy. He continued in control of this paper until April 23, 1861, when he retired."[30] *Hutching's California Magazine* announced in August, 1858: "We are going to the Fair to be held at Marysville during the present month . . . The arrangements of the Fair are being conducted by such men as . . . John R. Ridge, and other equally competent heads."[31] The same magazine in the issue for October, 1859, gave an account

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[26]The first city directory of Marysville, published by Hale and Emory, August, 1853, gives the address of Ridge as the Tremont House. This hotel, owned by Haskin and Humphrey, was situated on Second Street.

[27]"*The Express* is the oldest living paper in Marysville . . . In 1856 it opposed the action of the Vigilance Committee." (*A History of California Newspapers,* 1927, p. 190).

[28]*The Wednesday Press,* "John Rollin Ridge" by Winfield S. Davis, Sacramento, January, 26, 1904, p. 4, cols. 3 and 4.

[29]*History of Yuba County, California,* Thompson and West, Oakland, 1879, p. 74, col. 3.

[30]*Idem,* p. 74. Ridge also edited the *Marysville Appeal* and the Red Bluff *Beacon* (Notes by Alice Bird Ridge Beatty).

[31]Vol. III, No. 2, p. 94, col. 1.

of the annual celebration of the Society of California, held on September 9, the day of the state's admission to the Union, at which J. C. Duncan read the poem of the day written for the event by John R. Ridge, the talented editor of the *Marysville Democrat.*[32]

During the campaign of Lincoln and Douglas in 1861 Ridge was the political editor of the *San Francisco Herald* and he was an ardent supporter of the "Little Giant." At that time Ridge was a candidate for the position of state printer of California, having been nominated at the convention held at Sacramento, July 4, 1861.[33] He moved to Weaverville, Trinity County in 1863, where he founded the *Trinity National* but he soon retired as he found that Democrats were not in favor there.[34]

Ridge, on June 17, 1864, bought a one-fourth interest in the *Grass Valley National* and edited it in connection with W. S. Byrne. This newspaper appeared as a daily on August 1, 1864.[35] Ridge " . . . employed the classical education which his Puritan mother had given him in literary and journalistic labors. After filling editorial positions in various cities for several years, he came to Grass Valley in the early sixties and became editor of the Grass Valley National. Although professedly an adherent of the cause of the Union, he was violently anti-Lincoln and his bitter writing probably advanced the project of founding the [Grass Valley] Union. He is the one who caned the Union's first publisher, M. Blumenthal . . ."[36]

"The story of John Rollin Ridge is so romantic that it has been used as a historical basis for a summer novel lately published in California."[37] Ridge "was undoubtedly a poet, and no California library—private or public—should be considered complete which omits [his] little volume of soul stirring verse . . . He was

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[32]Vol. IV, No. 4, p. 100.

[33]*California Historical Quarterly*, June, 1931, p. 367, note 118.

[34]*Overland Magazine*, August, 1904, p. 129.

[35]*History of Placer and Nevada Counties, California* by W. B. Lardner and M. J. Brock, Los Angeles, 1924, p. 414.

[36]*The Morning Union*, Grass Valley and Nevada City, California, Sunday, October 28, 1934, p. 10, cols. 3 and 4.

[37]*The Story of the Files, a Review of California Writers and Literature* by Ella Sterling Cummins, p. 49.

no imitator, but a profound study in himself. No more beautiful lines were ever written to a wife than those . . . addressed 'To Lizzie . . . She stood an angel in my sight.' "[38]

Ridge's cousin, Frank Boudinot was a member of the Lyster Operatic Company which gave sixty-four consecutive evening performances in San Francisco. The season began in May, 1859 at McGuire's Opera House and the Bohemian Girl, Sonnambula, Fille du Regiment, Fra Diavolo, The Beggar's Opera, Barbier de Seville, and Figaro were presented.[39] Charles E. DeLong in his *Journals,* 1854-63, writes of attending a performance of the Bohemian Girl after which he went with Ridge to see Greeley. Ridge was then editor of the *Marysville National Democrat.*[40]

All the years of his exile Ridge longed to return to his own people and he would probably have taken a chance on being tried for murder had it not been for the pleadings of his mother. The only time he ever took an active part in the affairs of the Cherokee Nation was when he went to Washington in 1866 as a member of the delegation representing the southern branch of his people. The commission was made up of Elias Cornelius Boudinot, Stand Watie, and his son Saladin Watie, William Penn Adair, Richard Fields, Joseph Absolom Scales and John Rollin Ridge who served as chairman of the delegation. Bitter dissensions arose among the delegates and Boudinot made ugly charges against Adair, Ridge and young Watie in a letter to his uncle Stand Watie, written from Washington, December 2, 1866. This quarrel, which was really a family affair, was responsible for the failure of the mission.[41]

Ridge reached home the last of December, 1866 and was cordially received by the citizens of Grass Valley. He was reported to have been in Washington several months and to have been greatly improved in health by the trip east.[42] His days were drawing to a close however, and he died at Grass Valley on Oc-

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[38]*Idem,* p. 51.

[39]*Daily Alta California,* San Francisco, Monday, December 24, 1860, p. 1, col. 2.

[40]*California Historical Quarterly,* June, 1931, p. 173.

[41]*Chronicles of Oklahoma,* "Letters of the Two Boudinots," Edward Everett Dale, Vol. VI, No. 3, pp. 344-5.

[42]*Ibid.,* "John Rollin Ridge" by M. A. Ranck, Vol. X, No. 4, p. 565.

tober 5, 1867, from brain fever resulting from softening of the brain.[43] The *Union* contained the following account of Ridge's death: "A dispatch from the *Bee,* dated Grass Valley, October 7th says: 'John R. Ridge, editor of the *Grass Valley Daily National,* died at this place, Saturday last, at ten o'clock of brain fever. He is to be buried this afternoon at three o'clock. Ridge was well known in this State as connected with several journals . . . a man of good education and undoubted poetical talent.'"[44]

After Ridge's death the San Francisco *Bulletin* wrote: "He was the editor of the California *American,* a 'Know-Nothing' daily here from January 2, 1856, to February 11, 1857, and in the latter month, when the *Bee* started, was its first editor . . . Returning to Marysville, he edited the *Express* . . . he later edited a new paper, the *National Democrat* . . . Edited the San Francisco *Herald* and took the side of the peace democracy though he never recanted his position about secession." This journal told of his visit to Washington to confer with the president relative to the interests of the Cherokee Nation and that "The attachment shown him by the Cherokees then in Washington was said to have been something remarkable." This was followed by Ridge's poem "Mary, Queen of the Scots."

That Rollin Ridge is not forgotten in his adopted state is shown by newspaper stories about him that appear at frequent intervals. The *San Francisco Chronicle,* Thursday, September 28, 1920 (p. 14, col. 8) related that William Fred. Bade, president of the Sierra Club of San Francisco had spent two days in Grass Valley to gather and preserve data concerning the author of the celebrated poem, "Mount Shasta."

The June 12, 1921 issue of the *San Francisco Examiner* (p. 16N, col. 1) contains an article headed "Indian Poet's Body Rests in Grass Valley. Footprints of Forty-Niners Surround Grave of State's Remarkable Man of Genius. A low and unprepossessing tree planted by his own hand in a half-abandoned cemetery in this old California mining town . . . [shades] the grave of John Rollin Ridge, the remarkable man of Cherokee blood whose writ-

[43] *Sacramento Daily Union,* October 8, 1867, p. 2, col. 2. Editorial Notes copied from *Daily Alta California.*

[44] *Ibid.*

ings of half a century ago were declared by high authorities to show the fire of actual genius. Recently a small party of Ridge's admirers sought out the grave and read 'Mount Shasta' which the poet wrote by the light of a miner's candle after he had toiled long hours in the placers." Ridge had described himself as " . . . the grandson of Chief Ka-nun-ta-cla-ge [The lion who walks by night] and Princess Se-hoya." On July 3, 1921, the *San Francisco Chronicle* (p. C5, col. 6) printed almost the same story headed "Lonely Tree in Mining Camp Cemetery Marks Resting Place of Remarkable Indian Poet" and the *San Francisco Examiner* of Sunday, January 7, 1923 (p. 16 N, col. 1) printed a story of Ridge's burial place in Grass Valley, under an oak tree and described him as the "Most brilliant man of letters, save Josiah Royce,[45] who ever lived in Nevada County." It recounts that he crossed the plains in 1850 to the placer mines of Nevada County and the paper contains a picture of the poet.

In 1868 the *Poems* of John R. Ridge were collected and published in San Francisco by Henry Payot & Company. The volume has 137 pages and copies are preserved in the rare book collections of the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California; in the State Library, Sacramento and there is a copy displayed in a case in the office of the Bret Harte Inn at Grass Valley. A copy is owned by the Oklahoma Historical Society and several copies are the proud possessions of Ridge's relatives in Oklahoma.

Mrs. Ridge survived until November 7, 1906, dying at the age of 76; Alice Ridge Beatty, the daughter,[46] died August 30, 1912. She was 64, and she survived her husband, Francs G. Beatty who died December 14, 1908 at the age of 64. Eight relatives and

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[45]Josiah Royce, eminent philosopher, author and educator was born at Grass Valley, California, Novmber 20, 1855. His death occurred in 1916 and the citizens of his native town have honored his memory with a handsome tablet in the public library.

[46]Miss Minnie Brand of Nevada City was a music pupil of Mrs. Beatty's and she belonged to a music club organized by her. Mrs. Beatty called the club Ka-nun-ta-cla-ge after Major Ridge, her great grandfather. She was a talented musician and a pupil of Robert Tolmie, a noted teacher in San Francisco, who had studied under Leschetizky. Mrs. Beatty was unlike her father in appearance, being small-boned and inclined to stoutness. Her fingers became twisted with rheumatism but she never lost her ability to play the piano. She was noted for her wit and was a popular citizen of Grass Valley.

connections are buried beside the poet in Green Wood Cemetery near Grass Valley. Andrew J. Ridge,[47] brother of the poet, died August 17, 1900 at the age of 65; his widow, Helen C. (Doom) Ridge died October 27, 1921, aged 81; John R. Ridge died December 3, 1894 at the age of 37 and Jessica R. Nivens died October 7, 1909 at 45 years of age. Frances Doom sleeps beside the Ridges as she was a sister of Mrs. Andrew J. Ridge. This much-loved woman was the librarian at Grass Valley for many years and she has been sadly missed since her death January 10, 1933, at the age of 86 years.

The editor-poet's grave is now marked by a granite boulder with a bronze tablet, which was erected May 16, 1933 by the Historic Landmarks Committee of the Native Sons of the Golden West. The erection of this monument was brought about largely through the efforts of Mr. Edmund G. Kinyon, managing editor of the *Morning Union* of Grass Valley. The inscription reads: "John Rollin Ridge. California Poet. Author of 'Mount Shasta' and other poems. Born March 19, 1827 in Cherokee Nation, near what is now Rome, Georgia. Died in Grass Valley, October 5, 1867. In grateful memory . . . "

John Rollin Ridge Bibliography

Poems, Henry Payot & Co., Publishers, San Francisco, 1868. 137 pp. Photograph of Ridge is pasted in the front of the volume.

Joaquin Murietta, Marauder of the Mines, 1854. Third edition, 1871.

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[47]Andrew Jackson Ridge was born in 1835 in the eastern Cherokee country. He moved west with his parents and after a college course he studied law and removed to Austin, Texas, where he married Miss Helen Doom. In 1887 and again in 1893 Ridge visited Indian Territory and made many warm friends at Vinita where he spent most of the time. He moved to Grass Valley because it was the home of his brother. The end of his life came on August 17, 1900, at Berkeley, California, while visiting his daughter. A newspaper at Grass Valley stated: "A. J. Ridge is dead; one of the country's ablest attorneys passes to an unknown world.

"Many men have practiced at the Nevada county bar . . . but it is doubtful if any of them were endowed with a greater judicial mind than A. J. Ridge. He was a man of great ability, and his services were in great demand on many occasions where important cases came up in the courts. Mr. Ridge was a man of genial disposition, and a scholarly gentleman; liberal in his views and above all honorable and just in his dealings with his fellow men. There is great sorrow felt over his loss by the bar of the county and citizens in general." He was the last member of the family of John Ridge.

POEMS

"Yuba City" by Yellow Bird. This poem was found in the *Marysville Herald* in 1850. 12 stanzas (Benjamin Hayes Scrapbook. Yuba City, March 23, 1864). Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

"Laying of the Atlantic Telegraph Cable," read at Marysville, September 27, 1858. In *The California Scrapbook* . . . compiled by Oscar T. Shuck, San Francisco, 1869, p. 483.

"California," poem delivered at the celebration of the ninth anniversary of the admission of California into the Union, before the Society of California Pioneers. *The Hesperian,* Vol. III, No. 2, p. 345 (October, 1859).

"The waves that murmur at our feet," *Pamphlets on the College of California,* San Francisco, 1861, pp. 51-54.

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OKLAHOMA'S FIRST COLLEGE, OLD HIGH GATE, AT NORMAN.

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Texas Technological College
Lubbock, Texas

At the east end of Main Street, at Norman, upon the commanding site now occupied by the Oklahoma State Hospital once stood the building of High Gate Female College, the first college to be located in the Oklahoma Territory, being established by the Indian Mission Annual Conference of the Southern Methodist Church in the summer of 1890. The old main building of High Gate, resting on the site now occupied by the Administration Building of the Hospital was demolished in 1926 to make way for the present structure.

At the session of the Annual Conference at Norman, in April 1890, it was ordained that a college be established within the bounds of the newly-settled Oklahoma Territory. J. P. Jackson, J. M. Chastain, J. E. Turner, W. H. Seawall, and J. A. Jones were appointed members of the board of trustees, and the board was intructed to negotiate with the towns that might be interested in securing the school, and "to accept the bid that appeared most advantageous."[1]

In response to a call by the mayor a large mass meeting assembled at the South Methodist Church in Norman, to confer with the trustees "concerning the establishing here of a university that will be second to none in the country." With great enthusiasm, the assembly approved. A citizens committee consisting of Mort Bixler, editor of the State Democrat; W. C. Renfrow, later territorial governor; W. N. Elledge; S. B. Brown; and Captain J. T. Johnson was appointed. The committee "would endeavor to secure suitable grounds for a site, see what amount can be raised, and attend to anything further to secure the institution

[1] *Norman Transcript.* Souvenir Edition, April 22, 1893. p. 12.

at Norman."[2] On May 28th, another mass meeting convened, and many speeches were made, urging townsmen to get behind the new enterprise and to express their interest in terms of dollars and cents. At this time two committees were formed, one on Location, and the other on Finance.[3]

By the seventh of June the Committee on Finance reported "a considerable amount of cash pledged, and not yet through canvassing the city"; while the other was able to report "five locations of a site of ten acres each offered, with a probability of securing others yet."[4] On July 23d the college trustees met with the committee representing the town; and the latter agreed to provide a ten-acre tract of ground and "to put up a building that would meet the approval of the trustees and to cost not exceeding $10,000."[5] On paper, a Methodist college had come into existence at Norman; and all it now needed was a campus, a building, a faculty, a student body, and money enough to make the wheels go round.

Following the joint-meeting of July 23rd, the trustees elected the Reverend J. T. Farris, as president, and a staff of three teachers pending the erection of a college building on the selected site. Several rooms in and adjacent to the South Methodist Church, on Tonkawa and Gray streets, were equipped for school purposes. Tuition was "made low to suit the times," and the institution opened its doors on September 18th, 1890.[6] About one hundred and thirty students enrolled the first year.[7] The attendance was all that could be desired at this stage of development. The institution had no competitors in the field, as little had been done toward the organization of public schools, and a territorial university at Norman had scarcely been mentioned.

In the following March, 1891, a ten-acre site was chosen, an elevation at the east end of Main street, on the northeast corner of C. J. Bowling's claim.[8] The first year's work of the new college left a splendid impression upon the mind of the townsmen. Its

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[2] *Ibid.* May 3, 1890.
[3] *Ibid.* May 31, 1890.
[4] *Ibid.* June 7th, 1890.
[5] *Ibid.* July 25th, 1890.
[6] *Ibid.* Aug. 30th, 1890.
[7] *Ibid.* March 30th, 1890.
[8] *Ibid.* March 21, 1890.

first commencement was an outstanding event for Norman, then a town of about thirteen hundred. On this occasion Seawall's "Opera House," at 113 East Main, was the scene of "one of the largest crowds that ever gathered in this spacious structure." The Norman Transcript avowed that "the progress of this school is wonderful. . . . The school is a credit to Oklahoma, and worthy of the patronage and praises of Norman and the entire territory."[9]

The second year opened in September, 1891, and one hundred and fifty students enrolled, paying a tuition of three dollars per month. Out-of-town students boarded at a cost of ten dollars per month or less. In its advertisements, much was said of the moral and religious atmosphere that prevailed among its students, though "no sectarian dogmas" or "political creeds" were fostered. Discipline was "kind but firm," and "pupils are not wanted who will not work and obey."[10]

Times were hard, and funds for the new building were exceedingly difficult to raise; and almost the end of the second year had arrived before work on the new structure began on the selected site facing the east end of Main Street. But the editor of the Transcript was confident that "a new era of progress has set in for Norman, another step of advancement has been made: Norman, the Athens of Oklahoma is marching on."[11]

The infant college, still meeting in the Methodist Church and other rooms nearby, began its third year under less promising circumstances. Competitors were entering the field, the most formidable of which was the new territorial university, located on the second floor of the stone building at 208 West Main. It promised "a full corps of professors; classes to be organized in all preparatory and college studies," and that "Pupils will have the use of a library and apparatus from the first." Expenses would be low, and "Tuition free to all residents of the Territory."[12] On September 15th, 1892, President David R. Boyd opened the door of his institution with a faculty of four and about twenty students enrolled, presumably all of high-school rank.[13] Far less

[9] *Ibid.* June 20th, 1891.
[10] *Transcript.* June 20th, 1891.
[11] *Ibid.* May 28th, 1892.
[12] Advertisement in *Transcript.* Sept. 2nd, 1892.
[13] Professor F. S. E. Amos. Personal narration, (Norman, March, 1936).

important, yet another competitor of the Methodist school, was Noble Academy, owned by local share-holders and under the management of E. D. Macready, who later enjoyed a wide and favorable publicity in the Territory.[14] Moreover, public schools were being organized at Norman and in most of the neighboring towns.

The Reverend J. T. Farris having resigned the presidency of the Oklahoma Methodist College at the close of its second year, the trustees selected W. L. Chapman as his successor. Chapman, who came from outside the Territory and knew nothing of the position he was expected to fill, related years later that "After coming here and looking the field over, and the University starting the same year on the other side of town, with free tuition, while I was expected to run my institution on fees, I said to the Board: 'Do you think I've actually gone crazy?', and I did not accept the position."[15] A. N. McDaniels,[16] who later organized a private school at Norman, then served as acting-president until January 1893. Meantime the Reverend A. J. Worley, presiding elder of the Oklahoma district, was elected president for a term of ten years. The trustees agreed to give Worley four acres of ground near the college upon which he would erect, at his own expense, a girls' residence hall.[17]

For some time, Worley had been operating a Methodist school in a grove about twenty miles west of Oklahoma City, which he called Queen's Camp. The school had been carried on in a frame building surrounded by several small cottages and tents in which students lived at a very low cost. When Worley came to take charge of the college at Norman the two schools were, in theory, united. Queen's Camp closed in January, but only one of its teachers and few, if any, of its students followed their president to Norman[18] to his new post.

At Norman, the new president met with discouraging circumstances on every hand. By the end of January his enrollment

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[14]*Peoples Voice*, (Norman) Oct. 21, 1893. *Cleveland County Leader*. (Noble) Feb. 11th, 1893. *Oklahoma School Herald*. (Norman) June, July, and Oct. 1893.

[15]W. L. Chapman (Shawnee, Okla.) Letter of April 18, 1936.

[16]*Transcript*, August 1893.

[17]*Oklahoma School Herald*. Nov. 1892. p. 14.

[18]A. N. McDaniels. Personal narration, (Norman, April 17, 1936).

had sunk to about fifty students.[19] McDaniel, his predecessor, had started a school of his own in the Williams Building and many of his former students rejoined him at his new location. Others later withdrew from the college, expressing their intention to enroll at the University on the other side of town.[20] The college building on the new site was far from completion. By March, the walls were up, but the committee in charge were still short of funds and urgently appealing for further aid from the citizens of Norman. Editor E. P. Ingle of the Transcript joined in the new appeal, insisting that "The maintainence of the school at this period is of inestimable value, and our people should respond in a liberal measure until the institution is on a sound basis.[21] The third year of the college closed with the new building still unfinished. The Transcript, in a front-page editorial, expressed the fear that "unless the building is completed by fall, the M. E. Trustees will consider its obligation to the town unfulfilled, and turn to some other town that offers better inducements than Norman."[22]

While work on the new building was lagging behind, Worley was pushing the erection of his own, a girls' residence hall not far from the main structure. By the middle of June he was able to announce with a measure of satisfaction the actual completion of the college storm-cellar, thirty feet long and twelve wide, near the main building.[23]

Shortly after the beginning of the fourth year, the school moved out of its old quarters at the Methodist Church to occupy the new building, now christened High Gate College because of its commanding location at the eastern entrance to the city. The college building was ninety feet long, forty-four wide, and three stories high. The first story was of native stone, the second of pressed brick, and the third was formed by a Mansard roof, with projecting windows on front and rear. The residence hall, when completed, was to be occupied by President Worley and wife, "who would give their personal supervision to the Boarding Department." The school would be divided into three departments:

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[19] *Oklahoma School Herald.* Nov. 1892. p. 14.
[20] *Transcript.* March 17, 1893.
[21] *Ibid.* March 3d, 1893.
[22] *Transcript.* June 16, 1893.
[23] *Ibid.*

preparatory, grammar-school, high school and collegiate, the latter including music and art.[24]

From now onward, High Gate would be open to girls only. Worley appears to have envisaged an institution of a conservative, exclusive type, as well as one free from the laxity in morals so commonly charged to co-educational schools, and to state supported colleges in particular. Stringent rules were accordingly laid down for High Gate students; "Young ladies desiring to have a good time will not find this institution to their liking." Students would not be allowed to attend "places of amusement," and all correspondence with persons outside the school would be subject to examination by the college authorities.[25] Even a code governing the conduct of faculty members is said to have been promulgated, one rule of which required that male members, when appearing on the street, should wear a silk tie and Prince Albert coat.[26]

Scarcely had the school settled down in its new quarters, under a revised policy, when there began a movement profoundly affecting local opinion with respect to the maintainance of denominational colleges, and of High Gate in particular. On the other side of town, President Boyd was battling with grave problems in his own institution. The University had entered its second year with still a mere handful of students, only one of whom was of true collegiate rank. Criticism was being leveled at the University by members of the Legislature, and others, as being an institution for which there was no real demand—as an expensive luxury maintained by the Territory for the benefit of the few.[27] But if the University appeared to many as an expensive luxury; to Boyd the establishment of colleges by the various denominations, in this new and undeveloped region, seemed an even greater superfluity. Boyd was determined "to stop their attempts" by substituting a novel plan for theirs." He would so improve the advantages at the University as to convince the public that it would be able to give to the student everything that the denominational

[24]O. G. Seeley. *Oklahoma Illustrated.* (Guthrie, 1894) p. 183.
[25]Advance Announcements in *Transcript*, Souvenir Edition, Apr. 22, 1893.
[26]A. N. McDaniels. Personal narration. (Norman, Apr. 17, 1936).
[27]John M. Weidman. *History of the University of Oklahoma.* (Unpublished M. A. Thesis. O. U. Library, 1928) pp. 20-22.

school could offer, while at the same time afford superior academic training, free of tuition charge.[28]

Boyd was profoundly impressed with a scheme that was being advocated by Bishop Vincent of the Methodist Episcopal Church. As a guest of the University the Bishop came to Norman on January 9th, 1894, and delivered lectures to which pastors of the various churches were invited. His specific proposal was the establishment by his own denomination of a student boarding hall at Norman "that would be an annex to the University, but under the control of the Church, where students could be as well cared for as in a denominational school." If the town would donate a five-acre site, the Methodist Episcopal Church of Oklahoma would agree to erect a hall at a cost of not less than $5000.[29] With this prospect, in a time of nation-wide depression, of money flowing into Norman for the erection of expensive buildings, enthusiasm of the townsmen was unbounded. A committee was appointed, and a five-acre site selected and paid for by popular subscription within two days. The editor of the Oklahoma Call hailed the adventure as "A grand movement, and one that will undoubtedly be taken adantage of by the other denominations.[30] The Transcript avowed that "If Bishop Vincent's plan was adopted by all the leading denominations in the Territory there would be no need of church schools; but members of all denominations could receive the advantage of the University, yet know that their children were being cared for by their own church."[31]

The State Democrat, while giving its general approval of the policy championed by Boyd and Vincent, urged at the same time that High Gate should continue to receive support, since its building was near completion and already occupied by teachers and students. Furthermore, the college was not really a sectarian institution, for half its teachers were members of other churches. Its program, he argued, was in harmony with that of the University, "as all who wish can enter the University after they leave the College." Finally, the great advantage of High Gate was that "girls can enter there and be educated at a time when the forma-

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[28]Boyd's own narration in *State Democrat,* Dec. 12, 1894.
[29]*Transcript.* Jan. 12, 1894.
[30]*Oklahoma Call.* (Norman) Jan. 11, 1894.
[31]*Transcript.* Jan. 26, 1894.

tion of their character is of highest importance," and he was convinced that there were "plenty of people who need such a college for their girls."[32]

The Transcript again launched into a lengthy argument in behalf of "one strong educational institution" for the whole territory. With the universal adoption of the proposed scheme, Oklahoma University could be made to serve all denominational objectives, and thus render the maintainence of church schools unnecessary.[33]

At the height of enthusiasm for the new scheme a story went out that High Gate "was to be turned into a dormitory like the Vincent Hall." Friends of the college now rallied to her defense, and on February 14th President Worley replied in vigorous language:

> "The Times-Journal and Transcript, and perhaps other papers are a little off in stating that our female college . . . is to be made a boarding hall . . . to board pupils for the University. No Sir: High Gate Female College will remain as it is. It is hoped that Southern Methodists will build a boarding hall near the University for the boys. There is a demand for a female college, and we intend that that this school shall fully meet this demand. All persons are not fully satisfied to send their daughters off to school in promiscuous boarding halls, though such halls have a university on every side of them."[34]

In another letter to the local press, Worley declared that the conversion of High Gate into a hall was wholly impractical, since the college building and that of the University were more than a mile apart; and besides; "There is a field for our school, and by the help of God and the good people we intend to cultivate that field."[35] In the State Democrat, there appeared a veritable sermon by the Reverend D. W. Hughes of Noble, asserting that "Such a step for Southern Methodists would not only be a departure from well-defined and long-established usage, but would subvert rather

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[32] *People's Voice.* Jan. 17, 1894.
[33] *Transcript.* Feb. 8, 1894.
[34] *State Democrat.* Feb. 14, 1894.
[35] *Oklahoma Call.* Feb. 15, 1894.

than vindicate the wisdom of its inauguration, and utterly fail to meet the prospective demands of its constituency."[36]

Even at the commencement exercises at High Gate a comprehensive effort was made to show that there was a "field" for the College, the needs for which no other type of educational institution could adequately serve. The Reverend Lovett, pastor of the South Methodist church at Wynnewood, delivered a lengthy address on "Women and Women's Education." Another address in support of the College was delivered by the Reverend E. D. Cameron, Territorial Superintendent of Public Instruction, and short talks were made by five of the leading pastors of the Territory.[37]

After a campaign for the Democratic nomination for congressional delegate,[38] Worley opened the College for its fifth year on September the third, with a new staff of teachers. Mrs. Worley supervised the "Boarding Department," Professor A. S. Brown and wife had charge of the "Literary Department," and Miss Amelia Bruce the music. "One thing is necessary to secure success," Worley asserted in his announcement to the local papers, "and that is home patronage. Young Ladies, consider the claims of High Gate College, and act accordingly."[39] An appeal for local patronage issued by A. S. Brown, one of the new teachers, reveals some insight into the problem the College then confronted; and which, along with other factors, might spell its final doom:

> "Citizens of Norman: I am a new man in your midst. I have accepted the position as principal of the Literary Department of your High Gate Female College. I am not striving against any institution, but I want patronage . . . I have talked to several in your town and find them interested, but not satisfied with its past and present work. . . . If you prefer private institutions to public and mixed ones, give me a trial."[40]

While there is no evidence to indicate that actual enrollment at the opening of High Gate's fifth year, the State Democrat noted

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[36] *State Democrat.* Feb. 20, 1894.
[37] *Transcript.* June 8, 1894.
[38] *Oklahoma Call.* July 26, 1894. The Call sponsored Worley's candidacy. See especially the front-page editorial in above issue.
[39] *State Democrat.* August 22, 1894.
[40] Published in *Oklahoma Call.* August 13, 1894.

an improved attendance, particularly of girls from outside of Norman. The College was said to have "doubled the number of boarders they had last year."[41] Despite this single source of encouragement, the outlook was dark. Local patronage, upon which the continuance of the school so much depended, had failed to materialize. With the development of the public school system, and the opening of the University at Norman, local residents were growing indifferent toward a denominational college, somewhat austere and exclusive in spirit, charging a tuition which bore heavily in a time of nation-wide depression. It is not therefore strange that they had turned with enthusiasm to the "Vincent-plan," with its pospects of many new buildings, more work, and "better business for Norman."

Scarcely was the autumn session under way when back to Norman came Bishop Vincent to deliver thirteen lectures in behalf of the extension of his beloved scheme to all denominations. Boyd had made elaborate preparations for his arrival, including a "welcoming committee," made of representatives from the various churches. The Bishop was expected to make a special report on the progress of the "Methodist Annex."[42] In the latter part of October Boyd unfolded the "novel plan" before the assembled representatives of his own church, then in session at Guthrie. The presbyters were very favorably impressed, and it was resolved: "to accept the opportunity afforded by the University of utilizing its free tuition in conjunction with religious and theological instruction of the Church." A board of trustees was appointed and sent forthwith to Norman "to look after the matter of the proposed Westminster Hall."[43]

On the 27th of October another distinguished visitor arrived in Norman, Bishop R. K. Hargrove of the South Methodist Church, whose jurisdiction extended to the Oklahoma district. He, too, was met at the train by local dignitaries, including both Boyd and Worley, officials of the town, local pastors and many others. The Bishop "was shown through the University, and gave his approval to that institution."[44] Whether he gave his official blessing to

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[41] *State Democrat.* Sept. 26, 1894.
[42] *Ibid.* Sept. 14th, Oct. 12th, and Oct. 31st.
[43] *Oklahoma School Herald.* Nov. 1894. p. 6. *Transcript.* Nov. 2, 1894.
[44] *State Democrat.* Oct. 27, 1894.

the "Annex Scheme," as Boyd vaguely intimated,[45] will likely remain a mystery. We are left to later developments, alone, for light on the probable meaning of Hargrove's visit to Norman, while en route to the Indian Mission Annual Conference at McAlester, where he presided some days later.

Shortly after Bishop Hargrove's visit, the Transcript began to record the transfer of students from High Gate to the University, which continued till well into the last month of the old year. In December, Ex-President Worley, who had gone deeply into his own pockets in his enthusiasm for the advancement of the college, was graciously favored with one of the most desirable pastorates within the Conference. As the Christmas holidays drew near High Gate's halls and classrooms were left vacant and lonely, no more to be occupied by teachers and students.

But the building of the vanished college was not to remain idle for long, nor would it become another "annex to the University," as some of the advocates of the "Vincent-Plan" had longed to see. Early in the new year, the Oklahoma Sanitarium Company that had secured from the Territory a contract for the care of its insane patients, became interested in locating in the vacant building.[48] A committee of Norman citizens worked long and arduously to meet the conditions laid down by the Company. On the 12th of the following April, the committee met with Dr. Threadgill of the Oklahoma Sanitarium Company, and the latter finally accepted Norman's offer of the old college building and grounds, and an additional forty acres which the city had purchased from the Forbes estate.[49]

Early in May, extensive improvements were begun on the old campus.[50] The Mansard roof was torn away and a third story formed of brick. To the rear of the college building was erected an annex, one hundred feet long and forty wide, and a T-shaped structure was the result. Finally, on the evening of

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[45]Ibid. Dec. 12, 1894. Boyd spoke as follows: "As is usual in new settlements, the different churches tried to start schools. The first was the Methodist Church, South. Bishop Vincent and myself stopped their attempts, and we substituted a novel plan for theirs. We succeeded in getting them to adopt it."

[48]*Transcript.* Jan. 11, 1895.

[49]*Territorial Topic.* (Norman) April 12, 1895.

[50]*Transcript.* May 3, 1895.

[51]*Ibid.* August 2, 1895.

July 27th, 1895, "a car load of insane people" was observed coming into Norman, to make their future home on the campus of a "ghost college."

If Oklahoma's first college gave place to a psychopathic hospital what of the halls championed by Boyd and Vincent, as an inoculation against the establishment of denominational colleges in the new territory? Two such halls are said to have been organized before the end of the year 1894.[52] But where is Vincent Hall? Where is Westminster Hall? They, too, have long since joined old High Gate in the realm of oblivion. The scheme which had appealed so strongly to churchmen and townsmen seemingly met with little response from university students, intent on living their own lives under a minimum of restriction. Nor did matters of high policy longer demand their presence. The crisis in the University's early history vanished with the return of economic prosperity in the later nineties, and with it languished the fear of serious competition from sectarian schools. Such institutions are now widely distributed over the state, while "university churches" encircle the campus at "the Athens of Oklahoma."

[52] *State Democrat.* Dec. 12, 1894.

VIEWS OF A VISITOR TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

In cataloging the thousands of volumes of newspapers in the Historical Society, we find a letter published in a Western Oklahoma newspaper giving the views of a visitor to the Constitutional Convention which was then in session.

Many of those who were members have written their accounts of this convention and has each put special stress on the part he had in framing our lengthy constitution, but we seldom had the views of a visitor in the gallery. We fear that the letter contains some plagiarism, but we print it as it appears in the paper. It is dated February 8, 1907.

"I had the pleasure of visiting the constitutional convention for two or three days, and I am free to say that I was agreeably surprised at the personnel of that body and was much pleased to see the splendid work that is being accomplished. Many good people have gotten the wrong impression of the convention by reading partizan newspapers and the stuff that is sent out by correspondents who are employed to discredit that body. While there I saw measures adopted by the committee of the whole, which will no doubt become a part of the constitution, regulating railroads and corporations that the people have in vain tried to enact into law at every session of the territorial legislature since 1890, but subtle influences prevented their enactment. I have faith in the organization—believe that the right sentiment is in control, and also believe that we are going to have a better constitution than any state in the Union.

"However, if I were asked for advice, or if I had the temerity to give advice without being asked, I would say: 'Be conservative. Do not try to regulate everything, from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof, by the constitution.' I have noticed a disposition on the part of some of the members, and perhaps of the convention itself, to recognize, to legalize, and to constitutionalize societies, unions and associations that are organized to promote the special interests of their members rather than the general welfare.

"Our constitution should not attempt to establish Jacobin societies within the state that may in time grow larger than the state itself. Such societies and unions are all well enough for their promoters and the interests that they serve, but they certainly have no part in the organic law of the state.

"You may regulate some of the forces of Nature and you may regulate mechanical appliances by fixed, definite mathematical rules; but you cannot so regulate Man. Humanity is an organism—not a mechanism. It is a mistake when you think you can regulate every act of a man's life by the law of the land; it is a mistake when you think you can control his moral life or regulate his social status by legislative enactment. Experiments of this kind have been tried in every nation and in every age, and they have not only resulted in disaster and defeat, but they have retarded the true development of the intellectual and moral man. In no nation and in no age has humanity made so great progress, nor has it reached so high a plane, as in this age and in our own great free republic.

"This progress has not been made so much as the result of law as of liberty. Man makes but little progress toward the goal of human perfection when he is hedged about with laws and restrictions upon his individual rights; but when he is thrown upon his own manhood, becomes personally responsible for his own acts, he then rises to the attainment of his highest capabilities.

"You are retarding real progress when you undertake to make man good by the law; you are taking a step backward when you attempt to place a guardianship over American citizens (as if they were imbeciles, children or blanket Indians) by the constitution which you are making. Men assume moral obligations and have certain natural rights that are not the result of legislative enactments nor subject to the will of majorities. This idea was recognized in the constitution of the United States and must be recognized if we would perpetuate free government.

"Correlated with the principles I have above stated, I do not believe that the regulation of the acts of political parties is a proper subject of organic law. I recognize that we must have

political parties to effect political ends and carry out political principles, yet they are but voluntary associations of men that may be dissolved or reorganized at any time. Political parties are not recognized in the constitution of the United States and should not be in that of Oklahoma. As a party measure, I believe in primary elections, but when the constitutional convention attempts to say how the candidates of this party or that party shall be nominated, it is assuming functions not within their purview and not consistent with the democratic idea of government.

"I see that it is now proposed to adopt a compulsory primary election law for all political parties for all offices and at the expense of the state. The people of Oklahoma now have a primary election law, but it is for each political party to say whether or not they shall nominate their candidates by convention or primary election; and if a primary election is adopted, the expense of such election is not on the state, but on the political party that adopts it. Not taking into consideration the question of trying to regulate political parties and all other organizations of democracy, which would permit each community to regulate by the constitution, this proposed law violates the first principles its own local affairs and each political party to present its candidates to be voted upon in any manner it may choose.

"There may be some excuse for a compulsory primary law in states where in reality there is but one political party and the man nominated is certain of election. But I never want to see any one party so strong in Oklahoma that it can elect a dishonest or corrupt man to office. If one party makes the mistake of placing dishonest men on the ticket, we have the alternative of voting for the candidate of the other party, or we can put an independent man on the ticket by petition. We have had conventions and we have held primary elections in our Territory, and I do not know of any candidate that the democratic party has presented who was not both honest and capable.

"The Democratic committee of this, the Second congressional district met at El Reno a short time ago, and after due consideration, decided to nominate our candidate for congress in a delegate convention. I have no doubt but that the committeemen attending that meeting represented the sentiments of a majority

of the district, yet the constitutional convention proposes to take the right away from the representatives of the people and compel us to hold a primary election.

"The convention has acted wisely in adopting the initiative and referendum, and if the people should decide at any time in the future to pass a compulsory law they could do so, but it is certainly not the part of wisdom to put such a provision in the constitution where it cannot be altered or changed.

"The convention has done well so far, and its work is meeting with the approval of the people, but they should not in their zeal to serve the public, go beyond the legitimate sphere of a constitutional body and try to regulate the affairs of orders, lodges, unions, and political parties."

THE COMANCHE INDIAN AND HIS LANGUAGE

By W. J. Becker, Professor of Freshman English
at Cameron State Agricultural College

The American Indian belongs to one of the five racial divisions of the human family. He is by no means the least significant nor the least endowed, although his race is the smallest in numbers.

The physical resemblances and the extreme diversity of language seem to be a fair indication of the great length of time the Indians must have inhabited America. About fifty-five or sixty linguistic divisions are found in America north of Mexico. These languages, however, differ so radically that one language cannot be understood by a person of another tribe. Structurally there is also a great variety.

The Indians as a rule have natural artistic powers and poetic instincts which are exceptional, but which have had little opportunity for expression. Having no written language the Indian must store in his memory and pass on to his tribe the accumulated knowledge and wisdom which may have come to his attention.

A large number of religious songs have been translated, not only from the English, but also from the Spanish and German languages into the Comanche. Attempts at translations of parts of the Bible have been made, but not with any great success, probably because there is no written vocabulary which is reliable and dependable.

One of the sub-divisions of Shoshone is the Comanche. There are various traditions as to the early location of the Comanches: "(1) Omaha tradition avers that Comanches were on the Middle Loup River in the nineteenth century, (2) Crow tradition maintains that they lived northward in the Snake River Region, (3) Bourgemont found a Comanche tribe on the upper Kansas River in 1724, (4) Pike in his explorations in 1810 indicates that the Comanche territory bordered the Kiowa on the North, the Comanches occupying the head waters of the upper Red River, Arkansas, and Rio Grande. The Shoshoni (Comanches) had

pushed across California; dispossessed the Mariposan tribes thus occupying nearly the whole of Nevada, California, and the S. E. part of Oregon.''[1]

The Comanche is the language of one of the Shoshone group which today lives in the region between the Wichita Mountains of Oklahoma on the north, the Red River on the south, the main line of the Rock Island railroad on the east, and the North Fork of the Red River on the west. Another group of Comanches, however, is located in Texas, near Juanah and Nocona.

The study of the Comanche language by comparative methods is rather complicated because of associations of tribe with tribe, of Indians with Europeans, removal of tribes from one locality to another, and the spread of civilization. This often has led to a jargon language which in many cases is considerably developed. I do not wish to infer, however, that the Comanche is a jargon language. The great simplicity of the Indian's thoughts and the influence of his surroundings, the wild tempests, the water-falls, the woods and the skies, have led him to the use of figures, elements of poetry, and an eloquence that is remarkable in its appeal.

The Comanche is one of the many linguistic dialects which does not have a written form, and therefore most of the information in regard to the language has come through personal interviews with early day cattlemen, traders, old tribal leaders, missionaries, government workers, employees, agents, and superintendents who are familiar with the language. With regard to the language itself my information must come from the accumulated knowledge of the Indian and my own linguistic familiarity with it.

The Comanche in its youth was probably uninfluenced by other languages, and had the power of growing words. These words grow from a stem root, and have a family likeness, branching out into various derivative words. Slurring extends over syllables and from one word to another, such as the elision occurring in French. The Comanche language uses a limited number of sounds, many of these being consonant mute sounds, which are never excessively large in any particular dialect. Easy communication requires limited phonetic resources, because the Indian is inclined to use signs with his verbal conversation.

[1] *U. S. Bureau of American Ethnology* (7th Annual Report).

In studying and making comparisons of compounds in the various languages with those found in the Comanche Indian language, the question naturally arises as to whether or not the compounds of languages and especially of primitive languages follow a uniform rule or scale.

It is a known fact that compounding is one of the methods used to form new words in practically all languages. I shall give examples and show by references that compounding is not merely one method, but that it is the most common method used, and that in the primitive Comanche language compounding of words comes before a period of extended borrowing.

In order to do this I have devoted a few paragraphs to the historical facts dealing with the Comanche tribe, as to original and present location, and general information concerning the linguistic stock.

In dealing with the Comanche language it is necessary to touch upon its classification, nature, development, evolution, as well as upon the grammatical structure, vocabulary, alphabet, pronunciation, and phonology.

It appears that compounding is one of the oldest and simplest devices used to supply new names or words in languages. Although the laws of language appear to be entirely unknown to the Comanches, and linguistic phenomena never arise into the consciousness of primitive man, the compounding of words is one of the most common methods used to form new names or words in this language.

It is true that borrowing of words takes place and is resorted to only when the native language fails or when there is close contact with foreign languages. Strange to say the Comanche, although in close contact with Spanish speaking people in New Mexico and Colorado, shows very little evidence of borrowing.

As the Indian came into contact with unfamiliar objects he tended to describe them by the use of compounded words and figures of speech. "The whites brought to America a host of things which were utterly strange to him, and which he could comprehend only by comparing them to familiar objects. Thus he fabricated a number of quaint metaphors which seemed indica-

tive of poetic fancy; "fire-water" is a stock example. In every language too, much primitive poetry is embedded. Many of our commonest words were once bold figures of speech. Their poetry emerges anew if they are translated literally into another tongue. "Dark and Bloody Ground" gives us a much deeper thrill than "Kentucky" could have given the redman. Thus Indian efforts to speak English, and English efforts to translate Indian, no doubt added to the savage's reputation of a "coiner of images." "The balanced, image-laden cadences remind one of Ossian; it seems that the Indian sings pseudo-Celtic songs, and speaks pseudo-Celtic prose."[1]

The Comanche name for whiskey is *bosa-pah,* literally translated, crazy water. The Comanche name for soldier, *eck'sap-a-nah,* red abdomen, is much more descriptive than one which merely designates a soldier by some non-figurative word, or the word *o'hap-te-po'ewe,* yellow metal, gold, is more figurative than our own term.

Whitney in "Language and the Study of Language" says: "Dialectic division is carried to its extreme among them; the isolating and diversifying tendencies have had full course, with little counteraction from the conserving and assimilating forces."

"It tends to the excessive and abnormal agglomeration of distinct significant elements in its words; whereby on the one hand, cumbrous compounds are formed as the names of objects, and a character of tedious and time-wasting poly-syllabisur is given to the language—see, for example, the three to ten syllabled numeral and pronominal words of our western Indian tongues."[2]

Examples of this are found in the Comanche numerals, as one-thousand and eleven, *pea'Symet-syme-matoi'kut,* big hundred, one added to ten; and in names as: *koon'a-wabe-poke,* fire-wagon-horse, literally meaning train. At the present time, however, the new for *koon-a-wagon* is coming into use almost exclusively. The word wagon, of course, has been borrowed from the English.

Compounding is common in the old Anglo-Saxon and on down to the present day English, while in German it sometimes reaches

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[1]Hoxie Neale Fairchild, *The Noble Savage.*
[2]Whitney, *Language and the Study of Language.*

colossal proportions. Compounding is used quite extensively in the Comanche, and is not without its advantage, for it gives the substance of a whole thought or sentence in one compounded word. Such words might be classified as being only syntactical relations, however, I am strongly inclined to believe that the Indian thinks of the entire group of words in terms of a single unit. This same tendency is evidenced in practically all of the noun-compounded words and also those long words which are formed by the composition of other parts of speech. Such words are: *Ei(t)-hanit,* bad deed, or evil, but literally translated *eit,* bad; *nohin,* anything, *mahanit,* do, or do anything bad; *cha-hin'a-supanat,* wise, but literally translated, *chart,* good, *nohin,* anything, *a,* euphonious prefix, *ma-supa-nat,* know, or know anything (good) well.

The word in the Comanche language forms a natural unit from which the sentence is built, and may be compared to the lengthy compounds, similarly constructed, in German. The tendency to form compound words from single units is used extensively in the Comanche. As for example the Comanche word *quas,* meaning tail, forms the natural unit, developing into *quas'ick,* last, end or later; *hi'e-quas-ick,* last (positive, or absolute); *quas'e-tivo,* meaning monkey or literally *quas* = tail and *tivo* = man; and *quas-e-na-vo,* meaning snake, or literally striped tail.

Other words, found in the Comanche are: *woonie,* meaning to see; *ma-woo'nie,* to look; *na'woonie,* mirror; *na'na-woonie,* (glass) or window; *cha-na'woonit,* beautiful, good looking; *ma'nak-woon'it,* to see far.

Very often a stem word merely has a suffix or an inflectional ending which gives various meanings to the word as: *her'ke,* arbor; *her'kee-i,* umbrella; *her'kee-ah',* shadow; and *her'kee-ad',* cloud. Cloud, also *to'mo-ve.*

Let us examine a single word in the Comanche language, the word *ka-to'ka-pah.* It comes to us in the form of three distinct words which I recognize as separate Comanche words. *Ka-to'ka-pah* means kerosene. *Ka* is the regular word for no, *to'ka* means dark or night, *pah* is the Comanche word for water. Therefore the meaning by translation is: no-dark water, which word is used in the Comanche rather than a new coined word or the English word kerosene, or its equivalent compound coal-oil.

George O. Curme in "A Grammar of the German Language" states: "A compound may consist of two words or several, it can as a rule have only two compound elements—the basal component, which contains the more general idea, and the modifying component, which contains the more special meaning, usually some essential modification of the meaning of the basal component, and hence accented; Zweigeisenbahn, a branch railroad, Vaterlandsliebe, love of native land. Each element can thus be simple or compound."

The Comanche word for God is *Ta-a'pah.* Since the primitive Indian's conception of God was something akin to sun worship and not an abstraction, the Indian word translated is *Ta,* meaning day, and *ap'ah,* meaning father. Therefore the word means Day-father, or according to the primitive conception, God to him meant the sun, which in turn is the "father of day."

In "Language and the Study of Language" Whitney says: "So also, the mariner calls *to'gal'nts'ls* what we landlubbers know by the more etymologically correct, but more lumbering, name of topgallantsails, and these are but typical examples of what has been the history of language from the beginning. No sooner have men coined a word than they have begun—to see how the time and labour expended in its utterance could be economized, how any complicated and difficult combination of sounds which it presented could be worked over into a shape better adapted for fluent utterance, how it could be contracted into briefer form, what part of it could be spared without loss of intelligibility."

There are some words in our language, as also in the Comanche language, of composite structure, which we do not recognize as such, but upon tracing their history we can analyze them into two component parts. This tendency is well illustrated in the following Comanche words:

To'sarre	originally	Tovt-sar're,	Black dog
To'pape	"	Tovt-pa'pe,	Black head(ed)
To'tivo	"	Tovt-ti'vo,	black man (negro)
Ei'hanit	"	Eit-ma-han'it,	do evil (bad)

The following Comanche compounds I believe will show words which the Indian seldom recognizes as two independent elements:

pah'choko meaning otter, literally water-old one, or old one in the water; *Nap'pywat* a proper name, literally no shoes, *nap* shoe, *wat* without; *Ase'nap* a proper name, literally gray foot or shoe; *pe'a-ate* gun, literally big bow.

The Comanche words *to'tivo,* literally black man, negro, and *to'quas-se-tivo,* black-tail-man, devil, show the use of *'to'*, a contracted form of the word *tovt,* black, which has almost lost its original identity. Comanche *eva-mora-yak'e*, green-mule-cry, means bull frog. *Pe'tso-ta-qua'va,* water turtle, but literally translated *petso,* waist, *quava,* grab or hug. It was rather a difficult task to trace the origin of such an odd compound, yet after a large number of Indians were questioned the following story tells the origin.

An Indian, while swimming, suddenly screamed that something, which later proved to be a water turtle, had seized her by the waist. This slight incident so impressed the Indians that the name of *pe'tso-ta-qua'va* was given it and is still in common usage.

In a letter dated May 20, 1848, Schoolcraft gives the following words:

"Kay	no
Kaywut	none
Kayshaunt	bad or no good
Shaunt	good, or perhaps many; it commonly expresses good."

The Comanche word for bad is *kishwat;* good, *chart;* and no good, *kay'chart.* It is interesting to note that at the present time the common word used by the Comanches to denote a bad person is *kish'wat,* which, according to the spelling given by Schoolcraft was originally *kay-shaunt* or no good. The present Comanches use both *kich'wat,* meaning bad, and *'kay-chart,'* meaning no good. The author, however, is in error when he also gives the meaning 'many' to the word *'shaunt.'* The word for many, *sawt,* is somewhat similar in sound, but is a separate element. The Comanche word *ah-hi'ts* is used now as the English word 'hello,' or literally from *nea-heits*; *nea,* my, and *heits,* friend.

Schoolcraft in his book "Indian Tribes of the United States" says: "It is, confessedly, illogical and impossible that the Indian's

ideas should have clustered together, at the beginning, without elementary meanings. Such a botryoidal commencement of a language would be anomalous. Ideas flow together, and mix like streams. The Indian must have had some elements to make up a language from—and what were they? Earth, fire, water, wind; black, white, red; to strike, to run, to see, to eat, to live, to die, these must have been elementary ideas. Separate existence, a man, a child, a thing—these must have been elementary in the Indian mind. God, house, hill, river, plain, mountain, are terms that appear more fitted for compounds. He must have had a name for grape, before wine; for a quadruped, or bird, before he named species; for a liquid, before he specified liquids. Whatever the process of accretion was, there was a rule. It must have been known, in making compounds, what syllables or letters could be thrown away, in the new compound, without affecting the sense."

Throughout the study of the Comanche language it appears strongly evident that the natural and easy way of forming compounds has been resorted to by the Indian. In fact the Comanche Indian seems to delight in the accomplishment of forming new words for strange objects and of giving meaning to a new idea. This is especially evident in giving names to individuals. Such names are given to people of position, people whom they admire, hate, love, or in fact anyone who seems to have made a definite impression upon them.

"The American Indian," by Haines, has the following: "In general Indian names for persons are derived from the terms for sky, cloud, sun, moon, stars, mist, wind, sound, thunder, lightning, lakes, rivers, trees, animals, birds and the like. . . . . In some cases they had their children named when a few days old, in others not until they had attained the age of two or three years. Almost every person received a nickname, either characteristic or arising from some peculiarity, which they often retained after arriving at maturity."

The following is a list of names of Comanche Indians. A large number of these are titles of Indians who are still living and with whom the author is acquainted. Others are those appearing on tombstones in various Indian cemeteries.

Ase-tam'my	gray brother
Cha-copah'	easy to break
Cochso-que'tah	cow dung
Co'ro-pwoonie	looks brown
Cha-ten-a-yack'e	good crier
E'sa-teckwan	liar (lie-talk)
Eck'a-wi'pe	first woman
Eck'a-pe'ta	first daughter
Ka'sa-na'vo	painted feather, literally striped wing
Maw'wat	no hand
Mo'pie	owl
Mo'pe-choko-pa	old owl, (former Comanche chief)
Mo'ra-que-top	mule dung, (former Comanche chief)
Nap'py-wat	no shoes
O'hapt-e-qua'he	yellow back
O'he-wun'nie	yellow steps
Pah'choko-to'vt	black otter
Poah'pah-cho'ko	medicine otter
Per'na-pe'ta	only daughter
Pah'choko	otter (water-old)
Po'ha-bet'chy	medicine carrier
Po'ko-a-too'ah	colt (horse-child)
Que-nah-tosavit	white eagle
Qua'va-a-ye'tchy	hugs in the morning
Quas-se-yah'	tail-lift
Saw'peten	comes often
Tah'kah-per	poor one
Ta'by-yetch	sunrise
To'pape	black head
To'mo-a-too'ah	sky child
Tis'che-woon'ie	looks ugly
Ta'yetchy	rises at daybreak
To'sa-woonit	looks white
Tip'e-konnie	rock house
Ta'by-woonie	sees the day
Ta'by-to'savit	white day

To-bits-a-ku'mah	real husband
To'sarre	black dog
Tooah-woon'ie	looks like a child
Wer'se-pappy	curly head
Yanny-va-too'ah	laughing child
Yer'a-petun	came in the evening
Yack'e-pete	crying daughter

Compounds formed by a noun with a noun are very numerous in the Comanche. Probably the next largest group consists of combinations of noun with adjective. It will be noted, however, that the Comanche lends iteslf readily to compounds formed by other parts of speech. In the case of the compound formed by a noun, verb, and adjective or other parts of speech it is evident that this type may become extremely long, and might be classed as a syntactical relation by some authorities. In most cases, however, the Indian recognizes the group as expressing a single unit or idea.

Some elements such as *ta, to, cha, mo,* and others may at first appear to be prefixes, but they really represent shortened forms of the words *ta'bin-e, tovt, chat,* and *mo'be.*

The rules of compounding as employed by the Comanches in the formation of proper names, place names, and general compounded words, are also employed in the composition of numerals. The Comanches compute numbers by comparison to the fingers or the hand, as, for example, five, *maw'wat* (like the hand). Their digits, as will be noticed, are composed of individual names for each one, to the number ten, *symen.* Beginning with eleven, however, one added, two added, etc., is the method used until the term twenty, *wa'ha-men,* is reached, when one added to twenty, two added to twenty, is again employed to the number thirty, *pi'he-men.* Forty, fifty, sixty, etc., is readily formed by four-ten(s), five-ten, six-ten, or the multiplication of the decimal number. One hundred is a term related to the word for ten, and is designated by the word *symet.* The terms one, two, three, preceding this, renders the account to one thousand, *pea'symet,* a big hundred; and the same prefixture for digits is repeated to ten thousand, hundred thousand, and so on to million, *pea-choko'symet,* or big-old-hundred.

For the purpose of further illustrating the mode of counting by the use of compounding I have here added a list of Comanche Indian numerals with the English equivalents.

English	*Comanche*
one	sem'mus
two	wa'hat
three	pi'hut
four	hia'ro-ket
five	maw'wat
six	nab'aite
seven	ta-ach'chuit
eight	nem'a-wachit
nine	wom'nat
ten	sy'men
eleven	syme'ma-toi'kut
twelve	wa'hat(e)-ma-toi-kut
thirteen	pi'hut(e)-ma-toi-kut
fourteen	hia'wro-ket(e)ma-toi-kut
fifteen	maw'wite-ma-toi-kut
sixteen	na'ba-ait(e)-ma-toi-kut
seventeen	to-ach'chu-wit(e)-ma-toi-kut
eighteen	nem'a-wa-chit(e)-ma-toi-kut
nineteen	wom'net(e)-ma-toi-kut
twenty	wa'ha-men
thirty	pi'he-men
forty	hia'wro-ket-symen
fifty	maw'wa-(ka)-symen
sixty	na'ba-a(it)-symen
seventy	ta-ach'chu-wi(t)-symen
eighty	nem'a-wa-chit-symen
ninety	wom'net-symen
hundred	sy'met
two hundred	wa-ha(t)-symet
thousand	pe'ah-symet
two thousand	wa-ha(t)-pea-symet
million	pea-choko-symet

The most primitive element of a language is the root, the exact form of which cannot be ascertained. It may have consisted

of one or more syllables but usually appears today in a reduced form which may be called the stem. Inflectional endings are added from which new words may be formed by the addition of prefixes or suffixes.

The following examples in the Comanche very readily show the stem to which prefixes or suffixes have been added in order to form new words.

Pe'che	teat	woon'ie	see
Pe'chen	suck	ma-woon'ie	look
Pe'chep	milk	Na'woonie	mirror
Yu'pechep	grease, butter	na'na-woonie	glass (window)
Ka	no	ta	day
Ka'wat	none	ta-a'pah	God
Ka-cha't	no good	ta'pave	president
Ka-to'ka	no dark	ta'tech-kan	breakfast
Pah	water	ma	(future action)
Pah'choko	otter	ma-och'ton	give
Pah're-vo	fountain pen	ma-rea'wick	tell
Pah're-tso-pe	spring (water)	ma-he'man	get, buy
Cha	good	ei(t)	bad
Cha'na-kut	rich	ei'nur-se-cut	unhappy
Cha'nur-se-cut	happy	ei'hin-hanit	do evil
Cha'ma-woon'ie	see well	ei'woon'ie	looks bad

New equivalents are readily formed in the Comanche as: *po'ah,* road or medicine, *po'ah-rivo,* road-tell(er), minister; *po'ah-kanick,* road-house, church; *po'a-teckwan,* road-talk, preach; *po'ah-tabine,* road-day, Sunday.

The stem word in this case is *po'ah,* from which any number of compounded words may be formed as the need arises. The accent as will be noticed is always on the first element which in these cases is the important or basal component.

A large number of words not recognized as compounds, when analyzed, are found to contain two or more monosyllabic roots. The Comanche words conform to this method of word formation and only close study will reveal the original stem or word as may be noticed in the following: *ta-yetch,* morning, literally day-rise, from *ta'bine,* day, and *yetchen,* to rise; *to'pape,* black-headed, literally *tovt,* black and *pa'pe,* head.

Our language contains a group of words whose origin is seldom interpreted by the one using them. The following example taken from "Words and Their Uses," by Richard Grant White, illustrates: "The word petroleum may be admitted as perfectly legitimate, but it is one of a class which is doing injury to the language. Petroleum means merely rock oil. In it the two corresponding Latin words, petra and oleum are only put together; and we use the compound without knowing what it means. The language is full of words compounded of two or more simple ones, and which are used without a thought of their being themselves other than simple words—chestnut, household, husbandman, manhood, witchcraft, shepherd, sheriff, wheelwright, toward, forward, and the like. The power to form such words is an element of wealth and strength in a language. If those who have given us petroleum for rock-oil, had had the making of our language in past times, our 'evergreens' would have been called sempervirids."

Two or more simple words in the Comanche form the basis of compounds which at the same time retain their original identities, as:

to'sa-mocho	White Beard
pea'hochso	Big Eagle
to'mocho	cat fish or black whiskers

Compound names especially are numerous in the Comanche probably because of the habit of giving names in relation to some early act or characteristic of the individual. Often I have been in a group or *na'nea-ok-quet* (name-meeting) conference with Indians when they were deciding upon an Indian name for some stranger who had come into their midst. I can best illustrate this by a few examples. They have no regular word for president and since a man in that position is supposed to be a brother or friend to all, they call him *ta'pave,* which, translated, means everybody's brother. My father, who in the early days wore a short beard, was named *To'sa-mocho,* White Beard, white because of its light color. Today most Comanches and a large number of Kiowas know him by no other name.

Recently a young minister (white) delivered a series of sincere, matter of fact, religious lectures to the Indians, and before he left they named him according to their idea of his strong

characteristic, "Straight Shooter" because he talked 'straight from the shoulder.' My own name, *Pe'a-hoch-so,* Big Eagle, dates back about twenty years. As a boy I "perched" myself in the top of a large tree, when an Indian who discovered me shouted, "*Pe'a-hoch-so wa'woon-it*!" (see the big eagle). This is the only name by which I am known among the older Indians unless it be *To'sa-mocho-too'ah,* White Beard's son.

The following words show the existence of two or more independent elements, such as morning and meal, metal and talk, before the formation of the compound was possible. *Ta'tech-kan,* breakfast, analyzed is morning meal. *Ta* being a shortened form while *tech'kan* is the complete stem word meaning to eat. *Po'ewe-teck-wap,* telephone, analyzed is metal talk. These two simple words again form the modern Comanche compound.

Composition proper is formed by joining the stems of two words without using inflectional endings between them. Comanche is replete with words which do not appear to stand in self-evident syntactical relation to one another as may be seen by the words *too'ah-woonie,* child-look, (looks like a child), and *tabby-woon'ie,* day-look (sees the day). The accent in the first of these words is on the first element, therefore on the main stem; whereas in the next word the accent is on the second stem, therefore the main stem or determining element. The meaning consequently is determined by the accent.

Odd compounds, in which the individual words themselves do not give the direct meaning are also numerous in the Comanche, as also in compounds of other languages which have been compared. It appears that our well-known word, whiskey, has something in common not only in effect upon people but also in the formation of language. The Gaelic form was *uisgebeatha,* or properly (at the time) water of life; the Irish use the word *usque-baugh,* fire water, (more characteristic) whereas, the American Indians, in general, called it "fire-water." The Comanche, I believe, come nearer to a figurative description when he calls it *Bosa-pah,* crazy-water.

In a study of the compounded Comanche words we may infer that single words were in existence before compounded words, but

that the oldest and simplest device for word formation is compounding. The Comanche Indian language as well as Teutonic languages forms new words or names by compounding new elements out of old roots, stems, or words.

The language although still in a rather primitive state has a wonderful strength and power in its descriptive elements. In oratory the words flow from the lips of the speaker in a soft yet forceful manner.

The language has a varied structure and can form well balanced sentences which contain innumerable image laden figures of speech. In story the language can adapt itself to vividness in description, interest in the narrative, and emotional appeal in the dramatic. One cannot study the language, or hear its songs, nor listen to the stern impassioned speeches of the Indian whose soul is afire with patriotic enthusiasm and religious fervor, without wondering what noble blood flows through the veins of the once proud master of the western plains, the Comanche Indian.

INTERPRETATION OF SEMINOLE CLAN RELATIONSHIP TERMS*

By H. R. Antle

So intricate are the functionings of the clan when its kinships and native interpretations of such are considered, the average student of ethnology finds himself in a hopeless maze of confusion when he attempts a study of them. To simplify these relationships and render them more readily comprehensive, the clan terminology of the Seminole is presented in full detail, lacking, however, the complex condition that arises with the institution of exogamous regulations.

The basic character of this study will be myself, a Seminole male who has married a member of another clan in which no member has ever married one of my clan. Where a remote relationship is recognized, a word translation follows in the aboriginal language with its nearest English equivalent, there often being no exact parallel to their meaning. Otherwise, the procedure of presentation will be to give, abbreviated, the English terms of possessive relation (as f's s's d's d) followed by the Seminole term of relationship, this being followed by its nearest English equivalent. Explanatory notes are inserted to clarify such points as may confuse.

For the benefit of interested linguists, the written Creek alphabet is used in spelling the various Seminole terms. This alphabet differs from the English in the absence of the consonants, b, d, g, j, q, x, and z. E has two usages, unmarked being pronounced as i in pin; marked, as ee in meet. R is given a short th or hl sound, depending on the preceding or following consonants or vowels. V has the sound of ah or of a short u. The words are formed in the throat, the vowels being cut short, and a complete expression being softly, but swiftly, expelled.

The Seminole, in referring to any object he may possess, precedes the name of the object with the word cv, meaning "my."

*The author is deeply indebted to Tom Fife, son of the Rev. Louis Fife, Seminole minister and councilman, for his assistance with this article.

Otherwise, the object would be designated by stating its name, which in English would mean it would be preceded by the article a or the. To illustrate, you would say, "Mother," meaning "My mother." The aboriginal, to merely state the object's name, would comprehend the word as "a mother" or "the mother." When, in his tongue, he states possession, if the object's name begins with a vowel, the cv elides with that word. Thus ēhē'wv, meaning "a wife," becomes cvhē'wv, meaning "My wife."

m means mother; f means father; s's s means sister's sister; et cetera.

m and f	cvchul'kē	(my mother and father, or simply, parents)
m	cvh'kē	(my mother)
f	cvr'kē	(my father)
older b	cv'rv'hv	(older of man)

This is one of the several cases where an English equivalent for the actual native word, translated, can not be given in its real meaning.

younger b	cv'cuse	(younger of man)
older s	cvhv'nwv	(if much older, add hoktv'lkv)

Only among the biologically related sisters does one relationship hold true regardless of age, as will be noted later on relative to the female members of the clan.

younger s	cvhv'nwv mv'netv	(my sister having youth)
w's m	en'hokiketv cvh'kē	(my mother of another tribe or clan)

A weak relationship is recognized in this case.

w's f	en'hokiketv cvr'kē	
son's w	hvtēsē	(something like a child)

I would refer to a son or daughter-in-law but not speak of them as mine.

d's h	see son's w	
w	cvhē'wv	(my wife)
f's b	cvr'ko'ce	(my little father)

All male members of my father's clan are my little fathers, regardless of biological relationship.

f's s	cv'puse	(my grandmother)

All female members of my father's clan, regardless of actual blood relationship or age, are considered as grandmother.

m's b	cvbo'wv	(my brother, if near my age)
	cv'hopuewv	(my nephew, if younger than I)
	cv'pauwv	(my uncle, if older than I)

Contrary to the general idea of the kinship term of a nephew for his blood uncle being the same as his name for his blood father, there is a distinction made. My maternal uncle would, however, take the office of father for me. There is no word to distinguish him from my other clan uncles, who may be any male member of my mother's clan older than I. According to age, the male members of her clan are classified under one of the above three terms.

m's s	cv'ko'ce	(my little mother, if she is older than I)
	cvhv'kpvte	(my niece, if younger than I)
	cvwv'nwv	(my sister, if she is same age as I)

All female members of my mother's clan, according to their relative age, fall into one of the above three classes.

s's son	see m's b	
s's d	see m's s	
b's son	cv'pucē	(my son)

All my brother's sons are my sons and I their little father because their blood father and I are the same clan. See f's b.

b's d	cvch'ustē	(my daughter)

For the same reason as above, my brother's daughters are mine also.

son	see b's son	
d	see b's d	
f's f	cv'pucē	(my grandfather)

This is not the type of grandfather I would have if one of my paternal clan female members married and I made reference to her husband. In pre-Columbian times, the paternal grandfather

was called by either his clan name or his animal name. He is not considered as related to me, except as noted in f's b.

f's m	see f's s	
m's f	see m's b; also f's f	
m's m	see m's s	
son's son	ep'pucē	(his son)

I am not related to my grandson. The native word, cv'osuswv, is sometimes used in referring to a grandchild; there is no English equivalent for the word.

see son's son son's d

The word, ech'ustē, (his daughter) is sometimes used.

d's d	see son's d
d's son	see son's son
f's b's son	see b

Any son of my little fathers would be my brothers because the son and I would have the same paternal clan.

f's b's d	see s	
f's s's son	see f's b	
f's s's d	see f's s	
m's b's son	see b's son	
m's b's d	see b's d	
m's s's son	see m's b	
m's s's d	ese m's s	
w's s	vn'cuk'wvk'kē	(Those who lie down in my house)

No clan relationship is recognized, but they whom we know as brother- or sister-in-law, may visit, sleep and eat with myself and family. See w's m.

w's b	see w's s
b's w	ev'cēr'wv hawv

This term cannot be translated; it can be used to refer to the woman as "his wife." The same term is applied by a wife in speaking of her husband's sister.

s's h	see w's b
f's f's b	address him by his clan name

f's f's s address her by her clan name
f's m's b see f's b
f's m's s see f's s
m's f's b cvh'ke er'kē (my mother's father)
m's f's s cvh'kē puse (my mother's grandmother)---see f's s
m's m's s see m's s
m's m's b cvh'ke ecer'wv (my mother's brother)

Notice the female possessive case in the latter word, ece, which prefixes certain words. For another type of feminine possession, see b's d's son, below.

b's son's son cv'rvhv ep'pucē erep'pusē (word translation; no relation;
b's son's d cv'rvhv ep'pucē ech'ustē (word translation; no relation)
b's d's son cv'rvhv ech'uste ech'use ep'pusē (word translation; no relation)

Notice the feminine possessive word, ech'ustē.

b's d's d cv'rvhv ech'ustē ech'use hvn'vn'wv (word translation; no relation)
s's son's son see b's son
s's son's d see b's d
s's d's son see m's b
s's d's d see m's s
d's h's parents cv'chustē ēhē etskv'lkē (word translation; the last word refers to any parents; no relation)
son's w's parents cv'pucē eha'wv etskv'lkē (word translation; no relation)
f's b's son's son cvth'ke tēcak'kvt ep'pucē erep'pucē (word translation; no relation)

The second word refers to no special kind of brother, that is, any brother. See older b and younger b; also m's b.

f's b's son's d cvth'kē tēcak'kvt ep'puse ech'ustē (word translation; no relation)
f's b's d's d cvth'kē tēcak'kvt ech'ustē hvn'wv (word translation; no relation)
f's b's son's d cvth'kē tēcak'kvt ep'puce ech'ustē (word translation; no relation)

f's s's son's son see f's b's son
f's s's d's son see f's b
f's s's d's d see f's s
m's b's son's son cvh'kē ecer'wv ep'pucē erep'pucē (word translation; no relation)
m's b's son's d cvh'kē ecer'wv ep'pucē ech'ustē (word translation; no relation)
m's s's d's s see m's b.
m's s's d's d see m's s
f's b's son's w cv'hv'ca'wv (my something like a sister)

In as much as she is the wife of my brother (see f's b's son) she would be a sister-in-law but of a different kind than w's s.

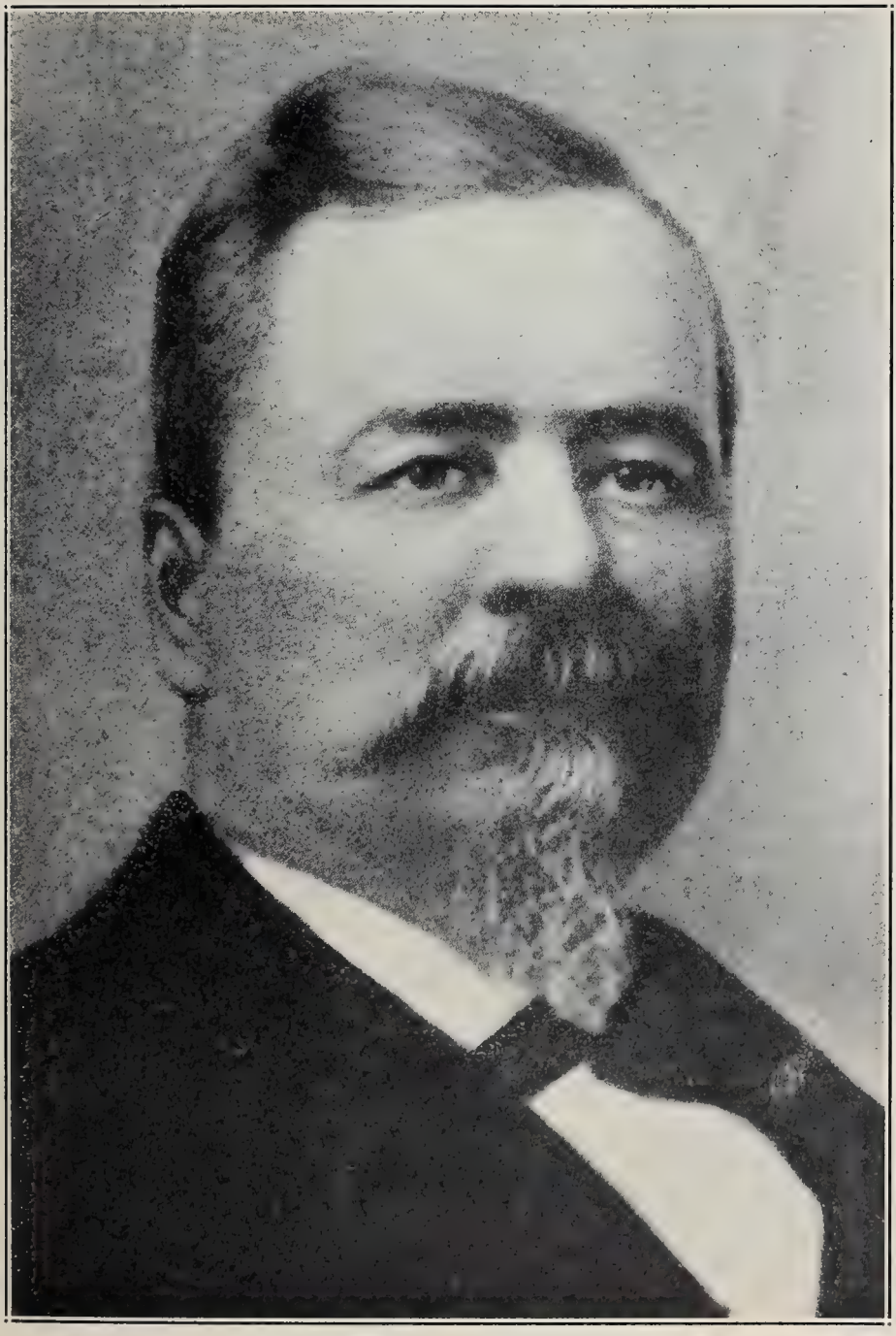
f's b's d's h	see f's f	This kinship is weak and rarely recognized.
f's s's son's w	see b's s	This is also a weak relationship.
m's s's son's w	see m's s	Used rarely.
m's s's d's h	see m's b	Weak kinship.
m's b's d's h	see d's h	
f's b's w	see f's s	Weak.
f's s's h	see f's f	Weak.
m's b's w	see m's s	Weak.
m's s's h	see m's b	Weak.

Modern Indians do refer to a brother-in-law or sister-in-law as ancuk'wvk'ke. As my m's b, he would be my brother.

f's m's b's son	teck'key'vt	(my brother) Different than other types previously mentioned.
step-f	see f's b	
step-m	see f's s	
step-son	ev'pucē v'ha'kē	(just like a son)
step-d	e'chustē v'ha'kē	(just like a daughter)

All other relationships are not considered close enough to mention by a specialized name as in the type forms where word translations follow in cases where we have a very definite expression of kinship. The aboriginal, to refer to these, would do so in descriptive terms in which the same manner we would use to speak of a distant blood relative or a relative of a relative to whom we are not at all linked.

Home of Chief Dennis W. Bushyhead at Tahlequah.



CHIEF DENNIS W. BUSHYHEAD

CHIEF DENNIS WOLFE BUSHYHEAD

By John Bartlett Meserve.

History is not a grouping of sapless facts or an arrangement of uninspiring dates. Its elements are based on realities provoked by romantic figures who lived and moved in an atmosphere remote from the nebulous, on deeds that were actually done, on touches of human nature. It is to these romantic figures that we pause in homage because their life stories may be termed the alphabet of history. The American Indian has been featured as unemotional, nevertheless certain unified emotions of the race form the basis of his history. These elements in his group life, recognized and influenced by chieftains whom he trusted, cannot be ignored. As the American Indian stood amid the wreckage of his primitive dreams, capable, unselfish leaders taught him the fundamental, bedrock worth of American civilization. The life tales of such Indian leaders are of historical significance. They mirror the evolutionary impulses of these simple folk whose history becomes fossilized in a cold narration of facts alone.

A conspicuous character whose public service is interwoven with the history of the Cherokees during the latter years of their tribal life in the West, was Dennis Wolfe Bushyhead, a chieftain of his people from the year 1879 to 1887, inclusive. His career was picturesque and his background is of dramatic interest.

[1]Ludovic Grant, a Scottish emigrant, came to the Cherokee country about 1726, where he married a Cherokee woman of the "Long Hair Clan" and lived in the vicinity of Charleston, South Carolina. A daughter of Ludovic Grant and his Cherokee Indian wife married William Emory, an Englishman, and their daughter, Susannah wedded (1) Capt. John Stuart, (2) Richard Fields, (3) Brig. Gen. Joseph Martin, all white men, and left a most engaging posterity to enlist our interest. Three of her sons by Richard Fields, her second husband, became tribal leaders of much prominence among the Cherokees. Her son Richard went to Texas in 1821, became a chief among the Texas Cherokees and was slain

[1]"History of the Cherokees" by Starr, p. 436.

by the Texans in 1827. Another son, George was a captain among the Cherokee allies of Gen. Jackson in 1813-14 and fought at Horseshoe Bend. Turtle Fields, a younger son, also a soldier in the Creek War, became a Methodist minister. The famous John Martin, a son of Susannah Emory and Brig. Gen. Joseph Martin, was born in Tennessee on October 20, 1781, was a member of the Cherokee constitutional convention of 1827, served as the first national treasurer and was the first chief justice of the Cherokee Nation. He died on October 17, 1840 at Ft. Gibson and his grave suitably marked, is situated a short distance south of the old stockade (recently reconstructed) at that historic place.

Capt. John Stuart, the first husband of Susannah Emory was born in Scotland, came to America in 1733 as a young lad and settled in South Carolina. He became a captain in the British army and was second in command of the garrison at Ft. Loudon, Georgia when it was forced to capitulate to the militant Cherokees on August 7, 1760. Through the intervention of Attacullaculla, a civil chief among the Cherokees, the life of Capt. Stuart was spared from the general massacre of the garrison which ensued and was removed to Virginia where he was released. Subsequently, he became the British Indian Agent to the tribes south of the Ohio river and married young Susannah Emory. Capt. Stuart became known among the Cherokees as Oo-na-du-ta or Bushyhead because of his heavy growth of blonde hair.[2] The ambitious captain, during the early days of our War of the Revolution, conceived a plan to exterminate the rebellious whig colonists in one grand uprising and butchery by the Indians led by English tories, in June 1776, confiscate their property and allot their lands to new loyalist colonists. The entire scheme failed and Capt. Stuart was subsequently stationed at Pensacola, Florida, where he died on February 21, 1779. His only son, also known as Oo-na-du-ta or Bushyhead, married Nancy Foreman, the half-blood Cherokee Indian daughter of Anthony Foreman, a Scotchman, and lived, died and was buried in Georgia. Nancy removed with a contingent of the Cherokees led by her son Jesse Bushyhead to the West, in the spring of 1839. She is reputed to have lived to the advanced age of 104 years and died in 1868 in the Illinois river country near Tahlequah.

[2]"History of the United States" by Redpath, Vol. VI, p. 2505.

[3]Perhaps no character in all Cherokee history was more revered and respected by his people than was Jesse Bushyhead, who was born in southeastern Tennessee in September 1804. The family home was situated some three miles north of the present town of Cleveland, Tennessee and it was from there that the young Baptist minister inaugurated and carried on his years of faithful service to the welfare of his people. In 1837, Rev. Jesse Bushyhead was dispatched with a commission, by Chief John Ross to contact the Seminoles in Florida in an effort to compose their differences with the United States Government and on November 10th of that year he met a delegation of the Seminoles at St. Augustine. He was a strong adherent of the Ross faction and while he vigorously opposed the en masse removal policy of the Cherokees, by the Government, he accepted the inevitable uncomplainingly and headed a party of approximately one thousand Cherokees in their trek to the West. With his group, he departed from the East on October 9, 1838, arriving at their destination, near where is now situated the town of Westville in Adair County, on February 23, 1839. He immediately established the Baptist Mission and resumed his labor for the spiritual welfare of his people. He became chief justice of the Cherokee Nation upon the death of John Martin in 1840 and held this position until his death, which occurred on July 17, 1844, at the old Baptist Mission north of Westville where he lies buried. Rev. Bushyhead was married twice, his second wife being Eliza Wilkinson of the "Wolf Clan" of the Cherokee Nation.

Rev. Jesse Bushyhead was a man of lofty attainments and unflinching courage. He used both the Cherokee and English with fluency and was engaged with Rev. Evan Jones, the Baptist missionary, in Bible translations. Untiring were his efforts for the spiritual welfare of his people, but in so doing he, by no means, overlooked their temporal necessities. He was rated the best interpreter among the Cherokees and was ever a cogent supporter and adviser of John Ross, the celebrated Chieftain of the Cherokees during the oppressive removal years in the East as well as during the initial years of rehabilitation in the West. He gathered

[3]For extended sketch of Rev. Jesse Bushyhead and picture, see "Aunt Eliza of Tahlequah," by Caroline Thomas Foreman, *Chronicles* Vol. IX, pp. 43 et seq.; also "Oklahoma, a History," by Thoburn and Wright, Vol. I, p. 210.

a contingent of his people under his leadership and led them to the old Territory but with no thought of retribution in his patient soul. No people may long survive for any considerable time without faith and with faith gone, superstitution comes. Through the years of the heavy toll upon the Cherokees, Jesse Bushyhead held the faith and imbued the distressed hearts of his people with an abiding conviction of Divine mercy. The high confidence which he enjoyed among these folk enabled him to regiment their stricken hearts within the shadow of the cross. It was leadership of the character of Jesse Bushyhead that lifted the American Indian from savagery to civilization. He stands in the foremost ranks of capable, unselfish and worthwhile leadership among the Cherokees.

[4]Dennis Wolfe Bushyhead, eldest son of Rev. Jesse Bushyhead and Elizabeth Wilkinson, his wife, was born on Mouse Creek about three miles north of the present town of Cleveland, Tennessee in what is today Bradley County of that State, on March 18, 1826. His initial school was the Candy Creek Mission in charge of Rev. Holland, his subsequent enrollment being at a mission school conducted by Rev. Evan Jones at Valley River, North Carolina, in 1835. As a lad, young Bushyhead came West with the contingent of Cherokees led by his father in the early spring of 1839 and in the succeeding year he attended school at Park Hill under the tutelage of Dr. Samuel A. Worcester. He was sent to school at Lawrenceville, New Jersey in January 1841 where he remained in attendance until he completed his scholastic course in July 1844. In his departure for Lawrenceville in January 1841, he accompanied a Cherokee delegation headed by Chief John Ross, to Washington, where he was privileged to witness the presidential inauguration of Gen. William Henry Harrison. He graduated from Lawrenceville and had entered the Sophomore class of Princeton University when his father died and he returned home. The young graduate upon his return from school entered

[4]"Autobiography" by Dennis W. Bushyhead, among "Ross Manuscripts and Papers" in Phillips Collection at the University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma; "Handbook of the American Indians," Vol. II, p. 866; "The Indian Territory, its Chiefs, Legislators and Leading Men," by O'Beirne, p. 117; personal interview with Mr. George W. Mayes, Oklahoma Cty, Oklahoma.

The writer is indebted for valuable information, to Mrs. Dennis W. Bushyhead, relict of the late Chief. Mrs. Bushyhead is now (1936) living at Tahlequah in the same house in which she lived when she married Chief Bushyhead in 1833.

the mercantile establishment of Lewis Ross as a clerk in October 1844 where he remained until the summer of 1847. The initial political recognition of young Bushyhead came in his election as clerk of the Cherokee National Committee (Senate) in October 1847 which post he capably filled for one year.

The discovery of gold in California about this time provoked an unparalleled surge of American emigration to the Pacific coast. Utopian, were the dreams of the pioneer who crossed the prairies and threaded the steep defiles of the Rockies with ox team and covered wagon. It was a period which engages our particular interest. Those were the twilight years of a later era which Mark Twain called "The Gilded Age." They were our National character-forming years—years of individual adventure which defied the untamed forces of nature, but which gave us the sturdy, unafraid pioneer-days of glorious adventure and of the great American dream.

Young Bushyhead became a "forty-niner" and joined the caravan of adventurous crusaders to the West, leaving his home near the old Baptist Mission, in what is today Adair County, for California on April 10, 1849. The daring venture was made overland by way of Ft. Scott, Kansas, Westpoint, Missouri and over the old "California Route" up the Platte River and through the South Pass of the Rockies, arriving at Lassen's Ranch on the Sacramento River in California, late in September 1849. The group of which he was a member consisted of thirteen Cherokees, ten of whom died of cholera, enroute, a short distance beyond Westport. Young Bushyhead with his two remaining associates joined other gold seekers and continued the journey. Shortly after his arrival in California, a flagrant scourge of small pox broke out in the mining camp and he aided and cared for the many victims, most of whom died, without taking the disease himself. The environs in the placer camps were vile beyond safe description, and in 1851, young Bushyhead went to San Francisco to join a group of his Cherokee friends and return home by steamer. Upon looking the steamer over, he questioned its safety and so declined to accompany them and returned to the mines. The ill-fated schooner upon which his friends shipped was lost at sea with all on board. He remained in California until 1868, living in Calaveras County, where he engaged in placer mining, but with rather

indifferent success, from 1852 until his return to the Cherokee country. He departed from San Francisco by boat for home on February 18, 1868, returning by way of Panama, New York City, St. Louis, Kansas City and Ft. Scott, arriving at Ft. Gibson on March 31,1868. He immediately assumed the mercantile business at Ft. Gibson which had been established by his brother Jesse who had been killed on December 24, 1867 and continued its operation until June 1871. He again entered Cherokee politics and was chosen treasurer of the Cherokee Nation in November 1871, was subsequently reelected and served until November 1879. He was a pronounced adherent of the Ross faction out of the remnants of which he formed the National Party in Cherokee Nation politics. Dennis Wolfe Bushyhead was elected chief of the Cherokees on October 4, 1879, served with distinction and was easily reelected on October 6, 1883, serving for eight years.

Dennis W. Bushyhead succeeded the picturesque Charles Thompson as chief of the Cherokees and his elevation to the position at that particular time, was one of the fortunate ironies of Fate. He came from one of the oldest and most highly respected families among the Cherokees and his own life had been enriched by his association with the grim white settlers in the West. He had been absent from the Nation for 18 years during his sojourn in California and, as a consequence, had been entirely out of touch with the Civil War period among his people. He saw no military service in either army. Obviously, he was not involved in any of the hangover controversies from that struggle which created a cleavage among the Cherokees. John Ross, the stormy petrel of Cherokee politics had passed away and hence had ceased to be a political issue or the target of political foes. The political situation among the Cherokees became pretty well composed, when in November 1879, Dennis W. Bushyhead took over the executive reins of the Cherokee Nation. He brought to the position a varied experience and complete divorcement from the petty jealousies which, at times had embarrassed the orderly processes of the tribal government.

The eight years tenure of Chief Bushyhead was entirely free from domestic dissension, and a judicious poise was maintained with the Federal authorities. The influx of white intruders continued and in later years was to become a provoking menace. The

presence of the whites among the Cherokees created the anomalous situation of two peoples, racially different, occupying the same territory but each accountable to a different jurisdiction for offenses committed. The white man was not responsive to the tribal laws or courts but answerable alone to the Federal Court at Ft. Smith, Arkansas for the infractions of laws passed by Congress. This most unusual court presided over by the famous Judge Isaac C. Parker from May 10, 1875 until September 1, 1896 performed a remarkable service to the tribal government. The chieftains of the Cherokees without exception coordinated with the unafraid judge in his twenty-one years of service. In fact, Judge Parker enjoyed the respect, esteem and confidence of the peaceful members of the tribe and of the law abiding intermarried whites. Quite naturally, the elements of vice hated his court, but as the years elapsed, defiance gave way to fear and a semblance of law and order began to evidence itself. Little cared the judge what the outlaws though of him and not unlike Byron's grim Corsair,

"He knew himself detested, but he knew
The hearts that loathed him, crouch'd and dreaded, too."

The greatest epic of the old romantic West was the movement of vast herds of longhorn cattle from Texas north over the famous Chisholm trail. This trail crossed the old Indian Territory from south to north, extending from Red River Station on the Red River to shipping points in Kansas where railroad facilities were available. The movement of these herds involved the unauthorized use of what was then known as the Cherokee Outlet or "Strip."[5] The Cherokee Strip was a rather detached domain belonging to the Cherokees, extending westward along and contiguous to the southern boundary line of Kansas, to what is today known as the "Panhandle" of Oklahoma. It was approximately ninety miles in width and embraced about 6,000,000 acres of unoccupied lands as the Cherokees had never undertaken to colonize it. For many years the Texas cattle men had made use of this Strip for grazing purposes and had done so without any pretense of remuneration to the Cherokees. The Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association was formed on March 6, 1883 and a plan was inaugurated, on a more enlarged scale, to appropriate the use of the Strip as a

[5]"The Cherokee Indians" by Parker, pp. 86 et seq.

cattle range. It was at this pont that Chief Bushyhead stepped vigorously into the picture and, on July 5, 1883, entered into a contract on behalf of the Cherokees, with the Stock Association, whereby the Strip was leased to the new company for a term of five years at an annual rental of $100,000. The Stock Association then subleased the lands to various individuals and corporations for range purposes. This action stimulated the cattle industry in the Indian Territory and concluded the contentions and bickerings between the individual range holders and the tribal authorities. Chief Bushyhead saw to it that this annual lease payment was promptly paid. Differences of opinion with regard to the rights of the adopted and intermarried white citizens arose initially in the Cherokee Nation in 1883 when the tribal authorities began to make the per capita payments to its citizens out of the Cherokee Strip lease money. Bushyhead caused a careful census to be made of all Cherokees by blood and adoption, and this roll of membership constituted the basis of distribution of the tribal monies. At that time, the adopted whites were excluded from participation. The Bushyhead census or roll of tribal membership with necessary amplifications and deletions as the lapse of years required was employed in later distributions of tribal monies and formed the working basis when a final roll of tribal membership was undertaken by the government.

An incident which threatened serious race difficulties was averted by the prompt intervention of Chief Bushyhead in the summer of 1881. Billy Cobb, a Cherokee Indian living near Wagoner, was slain by a party of Creek negroes near Gibson Station. The incensed Cherokees immediately formed a company of 100 Cherokee Indians under the leadership of William Jackson, who had been a captain in the Confederate service. This company marched to Gibson Station and made demands for the surrender of the negro culprits, which demand was refused. While these preliminaries were in process, word was conveyed to Chief Bushyhead at Tahlequah of the ominous situation and the chief, with William P. Adair, the second chief, hastened to Gibson Station to intervene. The Indian Agent also joined the peace party. Bushyhead fortunately encountered Capt. Jackson and his company as they were en route to attack the negroes and succeeded in influencing the enraged Cherokees from taking the law into their

own hands. Through the intervention of Chief Bushyhead, the Creek Chief caused the murderers to be arrested and turned over to the Cherokee authorities. The negroes were tried, convicted and hung at Tahlequah and the incident was closed.

The tribal election held in October 1887 was bitterly contested. Chief Bushyhead being ineligible for another consecutive term, Rabbit Bunch, the second chief became the nominee of the National Party and, of course, had the support of the Chief. Joel B. Mayes was offered by the Downing Party and apparently, was elected, but the National Council which met in November adjourned the following month without making a canvass of the election returns as required by law. Under the constitution, Chief Bushyhead remained in office until the Council should certify the election of his successor. Bushyhead offered no claims for a continuance in office, but militant Downing Party adherents forcibly took charge of the executive office at Tahlequah in January, 1888 and installed Mayes as Chief. Chief Bushyhead gracefully retired with the observation that he was awaiting the demand of his duly elected successor. The National Party never returned to power in the Cherokee Nation.

The retirement of Chief Bushyhead from the executive office did not conclude his public service to the Cherokees. In 1889 and 1890, he served as a delegate to Washington and in November 1890, was one of three commissioners who negotiated with the Government in the sale of the Western Reservation. He attended an inter-tribal meeting held at McAlester, on November 12, 1896, called for the purpose of agreeing upon some concerted action in regard to the allotment of the tribal lands and the extinguishment of the tribal governments as demanded by the Government. As chairman of the Cherokee delegation, he joined with the representatives of the other tribes, in signing the resolutions of the meeting, which opposed this contemplated action without certain reservations and other positive provisions to secure the future status of the tribes.

Chief Bushyhead married Elizabeth Alabama Adair nee Schrimsher, a daughter of John G. Schrimsher, at Ft. Gibson, in September 1870. She was born in Alabama in 1835. Their children were Jesse C., now a physician at Claremore, Oklahoma,

Eliza, Catherine and Dennis W. jr., of Westville, Oklahoma. Mrs. Bushyhead died at Ft. Gibson on October 31, 1882, and on October 31, 1883, he married Eloise Perry Butler, of Tahlequah, a daughter of James L. Butler. She was born at Tahlequah on August 14, 1859 and is a niece of the late Senator Butler of South Carolina and a grand niece of the famous Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry. Mrs. Bushyhead was educated in the Cherokee National schools and completed her studies in Philadelphia. Two children were born of this second union, James Butler and Francis Taylor. The Chief was a large man, standing about six feet and weighing perhaps 200 pounds. He had the dark Indian complexion, was erect in his carriage and imposing in his posture and appearance. He was an affable individual and enjoyed the esteem and respect of the whites although he was at all times unafraid in defense of the rights of his people. The Cherokees believed in him and with every reason and today pause in memory of his splendid character. He was a consistent supporter of the Baptist Church. His biographer, the late W. P. Boudinot, wrote of him: "He was a Christian in every respect, except being called one" and "He died rich in everything except money."

Dennis W. Bushyhead met the responsibilities of his office most capably and courageously. The Cherokees had no more devoted friend and advocate. Under his directing hand, they approached, with a better understanding, the onus of complete American citizenship which lay in the years ahead. He was a towering figure among his people, embodying the higher and nobler impulses of examplary leadership. Reflective of his erudite leadership were the thoughts expressed in his first message to the National Council, delivered on November 10, 1879, wherein he thoughtfully concludes,

> "In conclusion, I would counsel a spirit of harmony and good will among our own people. In our councils, let us avoid hasty legislation. Let every bill presented for your consideration and action be closely scanned in order to perfect the good and eliminate the evil that may appear, and may the welfare of our Nation and our people be your highest consideration. Then, with a firm trust and reliance upon the Ruler of nations, an abiding faith in the people and govern-

ment of the United States and, above all, in ourselves, let us to the best of our abilities govern the Cherokee Nation wisely and well; thus helping all in power to a peaceful, harmonious and just solution of the intricate and deeply important Indian question, so far as it relates to the Cherokee Nation.''

These were the well chosen words of a statesman and such was Dennis W. Bushyhead.

Such is the career Chief Bushyhead folded up and left for us. He passed away at his home in Tahlequah, on February 4, 1898 and rests in the cemetery at that place where his grave is suitably marked.

WHEN THE TERRITORY WAS YOUNG

T. E. Beck

In fulfillment of a promise I made to members of the State Historical Society at the meeting held in Enid on April 30th I submit for publication in the *Chronicles* a brief summary of some of the early day stories as I remember them after fifty years when I first came to the western part of the Indian territory, now Western Oklahoma. We older members and pioneers made history, while the younger generation is now in the making of history, it will require years to determine whether good or bad. To illustrate what I mean—take the great dust storms we have been having in this western country, or man's effort to change the climate of the plains by planting rows of trees, these and other happenings are merely news items, and fifty or more years will appear in history the same as "New England's Dark Day," May 20, 1780, and other events of which we read in our common school histories.

I am expected to write something about the early history of this country in which I took part. At the age of 20 I came from Illinois, my birthplace, with the idea of becoming a cowboy out on the wide open range. About June 1, 1882 I arrived at Harper, Kansas, the end of the railroad, and at once got a job of piloting a yoke of oven to a freight wagon taking supplies to the headquarter ranch of the Comanche Pool Cattle Co., known as Evansville—just a ranch house and horse corrals near a fine spring. I was told that I could go to work and the freighter with his two ox teams and mule team left for the Salt Plains on the Cimarron River to take back salt to the settlements up in Kansas. The next morning I hunted up the foreman and imparted the information to him that I did not know much about riding horses and that I had never ridden a bucking bronco and he would have to give me a pony that was broke to ride. His reply was emphatic and convincing, prefixed with an oath he said, "Young fellow, you will go with the fence gang and learn to ride in a wagon first." With the fence gang I went and that took me down into the Indian country.

A number of years prior to this time the cattlemen who grazed the lands in the Cherokee Outlet formed an association with headquarters at Caldwell, leased these lands from the Cherokees with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, at a very nominal rental per acre. At first the herds were, as far as possible, kept on the ranged allotted to each cattleman in the association. Barbed wire was coming into general use, and posts could be cut in the cedar canyons and men were employed to build fence around the pasture lands. The Comanche Pool Cattle Co. was one of the large concerns holding cattle in the Indian country, besides about half of what is now Comanche county, Kansas. In the Indian country the company had a lease on a scope of country from a little west of Kiowa, Kansas, south to the Cimarron River and west about 56 miles to the Cimarron River on the Kansas line. It was in this portion of the range where I helped put up fence the summer of 1882. Late that fall I was promoted to fence rider, to see that the fence was in good condition and if any stock had gotten out, if so get them back in the pasture or report to the foreman. I had mastered the art of riding a bronco by this time. Right here I wish to state why cowboys carried guns, not because they were bad men looking for trouble, but as a matter of necessity in stopping a stampeding herd of range cattle. Besides the cattle company paid a bounty for each coyote, loper wolf, panther, bobcat or bear. We had to buy our own six-shooter but the company furnished ammunition free. So it can be seen why most cowboys were pretty good shots. We did considerable practice with the free ammunition.

The Comanche Pool ranch occupied the western part of now Woods county, and the Drumm ranch was to the east, northern part of Alfalfa county. The former ranch was intersected by the Salt Fork river and many small creeks; a number drained into Salt Fork and the others into the Cimarron. At the head of these Creeks were deep canyons; so deep in fact that tall trees growing in the gulches only the tops would appear as a small bush from the surrounding country. Some places it required miles of travel to get around the head of one of these canyons. In this section of the country are to be found many queer formations caused by erosion. Along the Cimarron River the high lands are underlaid with gypsum rock of several feet in thickness. The lower

parts of the bluffs have been washed away leaving an overhanging shelf until it breaks down by its own weight. Then again there are cone shaped formations with the cap of gypsum rock extending out from all sides, making it almost impossible for one to reach the top of these cones. Just south of the Cimarron is a creek known as Chimney creek, so named from a tall Gypsum formation, resembling the chimney of a house which has been destroyed by fire. The greatest curiosity of all is the salt beds on the Cimarron River, at the mouth of Buffalo Creek. Here, from salt springs, the brine is evaporated during dry weather forming cakes of salt from which a wagon load may be scooped up in a few mintes. Thousands of tons have been hauled from these plains and used for stock salt and in many instances farmers have used in for curing meat, and for other domestic uses.

Near the crest of the divide leading down to the Salt Plains from the north, was the location of the "Lone Grave" which contained the bodies of two young men killed by the Indians, fall of 1878. The story related to me nearly four years afterwards by the cowboys on the ranch, I give it as near as I remember it at this time. Two ranch hands, Ruben Bristow and Fred Clark, were sent with team and wagon to the plains for a load of salt. They would reach the salt springs that evening and cross the river to the south side at the mouth of Buffalo creek where water and fuel could be had for camping over night. Next morning at the headquarters ranch the mule team was found dragging the double-trees. Three cowboys were sent out to take the back-track and find out what had happened to the two boys. Following the main trail to a point a few miles from the salt springs the wagon was seen in a clump of bushes in a little gully leading into Jug Mott creek. On reaching the wagon the bodies of the victims were in the wagon box. Tracing back to where the wagon left the trail it could plainly be seen that the wagon had been surrounded by a number of Indians, supposed to be Cheyennes, who shot their victims without warning. The shooting scared the team which ran off and wrecked the wagon in the gully. The only thing that could be done was to bury the bodies as they had lain in the hot sun from the day before. With the shovels to be used in getting salt, a grave was dug near the trail on the top of the divide and the two bodies in their own clothing, and wrapped in a wagon sheet

were given as respectable burial as circumstances would permit. In late years I have heard the story that a number of arrows had been shot into the bodies after death. It would be an unusual thing for the Indians at that late date to have bow and arrows, but no doubt it was true. Those who related the incidents of the murder never said anything about the arrows in the victims. It was never known what band of Indians committed the dastardly crime. A check of the Indians held at Camp Supply, Fort Cantonment, or Fort Darlington did not reveal any considerable number absent at about that time. One of the cowboys who found the victims and assisted in their burial was the late Charley Colcord, president of the Historical Society.[1]

The Salft Fork river which flowed through the cattle ranch, had its origin up in Comanche county, Kansas, and made a number of small creeks fed by numerous springs of pure clear water, the outcropping of the water table under the high plains farther west. The Indian name as shown by an old atlas is Nescatunga River, the eastern edge of the Great American desert. An Indian legend handed down by the plains Indians who occupied the country adjoining the desert, describes what took place in the dim past. The Indians believed that the Great Spirit, Manitou, became angered and sent a big sand storm off the desert plains which filled the channel of the stream with sand making the water unfit for use. So much for the legend. Indians of later years stated that the stream was a deep gulch, forty to eighty feet deep and that within its banks enormous trees were growing, and the channel was a flowing stream of deep clear water on which the Indians traveled in their canoes. This gulch was a mile or more to the north of the present stream and borings made at many places confirm the story that at one time the stream was a deep gulch. A number of the present day towns along the river get their supply of water from the north side of the river at a depth of about fifty feet. Of my own personal knowledge I know that the stream has shifted to the south in many places for a consid-

[1]This Indian raid spoken of by Mr. Beck in which several people were killed, was in the early fall of 1878 and was led by Little Wolf and Dull Knife. These Indians were Northern Cheyennes who had left the Darlington Agency with about three hundred followers, including women and children, and were trying to return to their old home in Montana. This story is told in detail in the March 1934 Chronicles, page 4 in an article entitled "Reminiscences of Charles F. Colcord." This has always been known as the Dull Knife Raid.—Ed.

erable distance in the past fifty years. The present channel is filled with fine white sand which in high waters is a quick-sand and very treacherous. Where bridges have been built across the river it required a depth of forty to eighty feet for footings on rock bottom. Wells put down on the high plains to the west of the headwaters of the river, show that there is nothing but pure white sand until the water level is reached, and a well had to be curbed from top to bottom to hold the loose sand. The statement is not far fetched when one states that the plains country was once a desert of shifting sands, and these sands have been carried down the rivers, now only sandy stretches. The North Canadian river is an exception, and it virtually follows a high ridge, country on either side is much lower in altitude and the creeks tributary to it are only a few miles in length. In Salt Fork River the water is not salty until it reaches the waters from the Great Salt plains near Cherokee, Alfalfa county.

Much has been said about the Chisholm Trail and the controversy of the Western Trail from Texas to Dodge City. From John R. Mead of Wichita and other old timers whom I met when I worked on the Wichita Eagle in the early days, I received a valuable store of information about the West. Jesse Chisholm had been dead a number of years, having died in Blaine County on March 4, 1868, from ptomaine poisoning. In August 1872 the Santa Fe surveyors reached the present site of Dodge City and a plat of the town made. This was about four miles west of Fort Dodge. Ford County was organized April 5, 1873, but the laying of track through the county did not take place until the next year, so it was after this time that cattle were driven over the trail to Dodge City for shipment.

In conclusion will say that after I was cured of the cowboy fever I returned to my old trade of setting type and worked in many offices throughout the country. I have filled all positions in the publication of newspapers. I could give many details of early day history, but lack of a school education is a handicap, (McGuffey's Fourth reader when I had to quit school) and I can not express in proper language what I really know about some of the early day history of our country.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE ARDMORE BAR ASSOCIATION, REGARDING WILLIAM D. POTTER

Your committee appointed to draft resolutions on the death of our Brother, William D. Potter, which occurred at Ardmore, Oklahoma, on Wednesday, February 26, 1936, beg leave to submit the following:

William D. Potter was born in Gainesville, Texas, on August 14, 1876, the son of Judge Clement Clay Potter and Zella (Bogardus) Potter. His father was an attorney, who, winning distinction in the practice of law, was called to the bench and made a splendid record as a representative of the profession.

Having completed the public school course, William D. Potter continued his education in the University of Texas; later he entered Vanderbilt University at Nashville, Tennessee, where he studied until 1897. He then completed preapration for the bar as a law student at the University of Texas, from which he graduated in 1896. The day of his 22nd birthday he came to Ardmore, where he has continued without break in the practice of his profession.

In 1900 he was united in marriage to Miss Lena Stoner of Gainesville, Texas. From this union came two children, William Woodson, a son, formerly County Attorney of Carter County, and Mary Helen Potter, who is now Mrs. Percy H. Johns of Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Mr. Potter has always occupied a prominent place in the law fraternity of southern Oklahoma. He was a member of the Carter county Bar Association, the Okahoma State Bar Association and the American Bar Association. When he first came to Ardmore he was associated with the firm already established by his father here under the name of Potter, Ownby & Thomas. Thomas retired soon afterward, due to ill health, and the firm name was changed to Potter, Ownby & Potter. Ownby later became a United States attorney, and in 1910, Mr. Potter became associated with J. C. Thompson under the firm name of Potter, Thompson & Potter. Later, when Lee Cruce became Governor, and with

his brother, A. C. Cruce, moved to Oklahoma City, Mr. Potter formed a partnership with W. I. Cruce. The firm name of Cruce & Potter continued until 1928, when Mr. Cruce died. Since that time Mr. Potter has engaged in law practice in partnership with his son, W. W. Potter and also in partnership with W. E. Cruce. In late years the firm has been W. D. Potter and his son, W. W. Potter. W. W. Potter was elected County Attorney at the last county election and served a year at that post, resigned in January of this year to return to partnership with his father, whose failing health made it difficult for him to carry on the affairs of his office.

One of the most inestimable services rendered to this community was the efficient manner in which W. D. Potter, as attorney for the Santa Fe Railroad, adjusted all damages growing out of the explosion that very nearly wrecked the city of Ardmore in 1915. The efficient and speedy action of Mr. Potter and his client in this respect was a great benefaction to the citizens of Ardmore. It has been said that Mr. Potter adjusted all claims in regard to said explosion, which ran into hundreds of thousands of dollars, in such a fair and just manner that no litigation ever occurred in the courts concerning the same.

Mr. Potter was a member and one of the directors of the Battle Springs Club and also a member of the Dornick Hills Country Club and the Chickasaw Lake Club. He was fond of fishing and sports and was an ardent fisherman. He was a member of the Rotary Club, the Elks Lodge and the Woodmen of the World and Beta Theta Pi.

The survivors include his widow, one son, W. W. Potter of Ardmore, Oklahoma, one daughter, Mrs. Percy Johns of Tulsa, Oklahoma, one brother, Roy P. Potter of Gainesville, Texas and a sister, Mrs. C. A. Kinnear of Seattle, Washington.

An editorial in the Daily Ardmoreite of February 28, 1936, fittingly pays tribute to him in the following words:

"No man ever lived in Ardmore that had more or truer friends than Bill Potter, and his passing was sincerely mourned, not only in Ardmore, but in this section where he had lived so long. Coming to Ardmore when the city was young, just out

of college, he cast his lot with these people and remained a steadfast booster of the city and its interests to the last. Quiet and unassuming, he attracted people, and by his personality retained their friendship and good will, always.

As a member of the bar he was a credit to his profession and his ethics were never questioned. He was a student of the legal profession and did not lay aside his studies after he obtained his degree. He had filled many places of trust in the city and community and was often retained by some of the largest corporations in the State.

He chose the civil branch of his profession and only appeared in criminal cases at the behest of some friend. As a member of Ardmore's civic organizations he was identified with every movement for the upbuilding of the city and community and always found aligned with those who labored for a better moral atmosphere in early times when society was not the stabilizing force it is today. His legion of friends here and elsewhere mourn his passing and all agree they have lost a good friend and the city and community an honored and respected citizen."

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED: That in the passing of William D. Potter the Bar of Oklahoma has lost an able lawyer and a member that always reflected credit upon his profession.

And the Bar of Ardmore has lost one of its most honored, upright and worthy members whose example we commend to the younger members of the Bar.

His widow and children have lost a devoted husband and father and the community one of its most valued citizens. We shall miss his kindly presence and his helpful influence and we will not forget him.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That we tender his bereaved family and relatives our heartfelt sympathy in their sorrow and and assure them that we fully appreciate their great loss and ask the privilege of being of service to them in any way possible.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That a copy of these resolutions be presented to the District Court of Carter County, Oklahoma to be entered of record in said Court and that the Secretary

of the Ardmore Bar Association furnish a copy to the family of the deceased and to the Oklahoma Historical Society.

DATED this the 11th day of June, 1936.

John M. Thompson
W. B. Johnson
Jno. W. Caufirer
Committee.

REPORT OF SEQUOYAH MEMORIAL COMMITTEE

Muskogee, Oklahoma, July 16, 1936.

Oklahoma Historical Society,

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Gentlemen:

The corner stone of the Sequoyah Memorial was laid on June 12, 1936, the memorial being located on the South Thirty (30) feet of the SE/4 of the SW/4 of the NW/4, and the North Six Hundred and Thirty (630) feet of the NE/4 of the NW/4 of the SW/4 of Section 15, Township 12 North, Range 25 East, in Sequoyah County, Oklahoma, about ten or twelve miles northeast of Sallisaw. The memorial exercises began at eleven o'clock in the morning with the following program:

Music by Northeast State Teachers Band.

Temporary Chairman, A. S. Wyly.

Song by Cherokee Choir.

Permanent Chairman, R. L. Williams.

Introduction of Indian donors of funds to acquire title to land on which Sequoyah Home was located.

Address by Hon. A. M. Landman, Superintendent for the Five Civilized Tribes.

Song by Cherokee Choir.

Address by B. D. Weeks, President Bacone College.

Address by A. C. Monahan, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Address by Rev. Richard Glory, a full-blood Cherokee Minister.

Music by Northeast State Teachers Band.

Address by Dr. Grant Foreman.

Address by General W. S. Key, WPA State Administrator.

Masonic ceremony of laying corner stone, in charge of David H. Wilson, Deputy Grand Master.

1:00 P. M., Barbecue.

2:00 P. M., Indian ball game and cornstalk shooting.

The memorial is now in process of construction and completion.

We herewith beg to present to the Society the title papers to the land on which the memorial is situated, to-wit:

Warranty deed executed by Thomas Blair Matheson, his wife Sue Jane Matheson and his mother Pearl M. Matheson, in favor of the State of Oklahoma, for the use of the Oklahoma Historical Society as a department of the State of Oklahoma, within the meaning of Section 11935, Oklahoma Statutes 1931, and Section 3, Article 16, Chapter 24, Oklahoma Session Laws 1935, and Article 15, Chapter 24, Oklahoma Session Laws 1935, and Sections 4893 to 4896, Oklahoma Statutes 1931, covering the following real estate situate in Sequoyah County, State of Oklahoma, to-wit:

The South Thirty (30) feet of the SE/4 of the SW/4 of the NW/4, and the North Six Hundred and Thirty (630) feet of the NE/4 of the NW/4 of the SW/4 of Section 15, Township 12 North, Range 25 East, said deed being dated February 24, 1936, and signed by Thomas Blair Matheson, Sue Jane Matheson and Pearl M. Matheson, and acknowledged before Floyd Green, a Notary Public; which said deed is duly filed for record in the County Clerk's office for Sequoyah County February 27, 1936, at three o'clock P. M. and recorded in Book No. 127 at Page No. 445.

Also certified copy of Journal Entry in the condemnation proceedings in the following styled case: State of Oklahoma for the use and benefit of the Oklahoma Historical Society, Plaintiff, vs. Thomas Blair Matheson, Sue Jane Matheson, Pearl M. Matheson, No. 6908 in the District Court of Sequoyah County, State of Oklahoma, said journal entry having been entered on February 18, 1936, and said certified copy having been filed for record in the office of the County Clerk for Sequoyah County February 27, 1936, at 3:10 o'clock P. M. and recorded in Book No. 127, at page 446.

We beg to state we have acquired this property without any expense being charged to this Society except $3.50 which is due

the Muskogee Tin & Roofing Company for a 9″ x 4″ x 8″ copper box which was placed in the corner stone, and $5.00 paid to Jeff Dodson by R. L. Williams for sleeping in the old Sequoyah Home until the WPA took charge. The party who had been living in the old Sequoyah Home moved out and we deemed it inadvisable to leave the building without protection and arranged with this man, who lived nearby and who was considered a safe man, to sleep there at nights for a dollar a week. This amount couldn't be paid by the WPA and there was no other fund available to pay it. There was no expense incurred on the part of the committee. The committee paid its own expense. The WPA had no fund available with which to pay for the copper box or the corner stone or inscription thereon. We took the matter up with Mr. W. N. Gifford, manager of the Gifford Marble & Granite Works, North and York Streets, Muskogee, Oklahoma, and he agreed to make the inscription without charge to the Historical Society. We then endeavored to procure a proper corner stone without cost to the Society, but the stones we procured were not suitable and Mr. Gifford donated a corner stone of Carthage stone from Carthage, Missouri. So this Society should formally thank Mr. Gifford for such a fine spirit in the promotion of this memorial.

The corner stone is laid on the northeast corner and on the north side appears the following inscription:

"The Most Worshipful
Grand Lodge
A. F. & A. M.
W. M. John L. Stuart
Grand Master
June 12, A. D. 1936. A. L. 5936."

And on the east side appears the following inscription:

"Sequoyah Memorial
W. P. A. Project
W. S. Key, Administrator
Willard Stone, Architect
Sponsored by
Oklahoma Historical Society

R. L. Williams
Grant Foreman
W. W. Hastings
Committee."

The corner stone and inscription as we have stated is without cost to the Historical Society and we ask that the Board pass an appropriate resolution thanking the Gifford Marble & Granite Works for same.

The citizens of Sequoyah County and surrounding country evidenced their appreciation by providing an ample and bountiful barbecue, which was well served to a multitude estimated by some to be as many as 5,000. It was a most orderly assembly. The full-blood and mixed blood Indians turned out in great mass and evidenced their interest and appreciation of the honor that was bestowed on a member of their race. We recommend that the Board pass an appropriate resolution thanking the citizens of Sequoyah County and surrounding country for their cooperation and providing such a well planned barbecue and entertainment on that occasion, and also thanking the Indians for the entertainment furnished by their Indian ball games and cornstalk shoot.

We beg to report that after the finishing of the stone building, which is to be 42 x 44 feet, covering the old Sequoyah Home, and the construction of a stone wall around the ten acres of land, that we are planning to have water works, electric lights and sewerage, and also nearby an Indian village. Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, A. C. Monahan, has expressed his approval of our plans, and the Indian Department expects to aid us to bring about the full fruition and consummation of these plans.

We also suggest a resolution thanking General W. S. Key for his services in the premises.

All members of the Board of Directors of the Historical Society were notified of the date of the laying of the corner stone. Dr. Emma Estill Harbour, Vice President, and Judge Harry Campbell were in attendance in addition to General W. S. Key, Dr. Grant Foreman, W. P. Thompson, and Judge R. L. Williams.

Donors to the fund to purchase the Sequoyah Home are shown in Exhibit A, hereto attached.

R. L. Williams,
Grant Foreman,
W. W. Hastings,
Committee.

Exhibit A.

INDIAN DONORS TO SEQUOYAH HOME FUND

Name	*Nation*	*Roll No.*
Mary Hogner, now Fourkiller	Cherokee	19617
Joseph M. Lynch	Cherokee	2103
Sandy Fox	Creek	NB-1263
Hepsy King, now Little	Creek	6175
Ella Jones, now Jacobs	Creek	9759
Almon Sawyer	Creek	NB-1223
Joseph McNac	Creek	447
Sam Sawyer	Creek	NB-1224
Amy (Now Amy Simpson)	Creek	7891
Amos (Amos Joshua)	Seminole	1469
Louina Walker, now King	Seminole	1577
Susie Walker, now Harjo	Seminole	1578
Frank Harjoche	Seminole	990
Jimmie Larney	Seminole	NB- 174
Louisa Hotulke	Seminole	236
Joanna Fish, now Davis	Seminole	356
Walton Carney	Choctaw	13080

REPORT ON WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION PROJECT 65-65-2843, at the Oklahoma State Historical Building, to July 23, 1936.

The white collar project 65-65-2843, revived November 12, 1935, as part of the W. P. A. 1935-36 program for Oklahoma and sponsored by the Oklahoma State Historical Society was officially described as follows:

"Indexing and cataloging, so far as the allotment of work and time will permit, 1500 volumes of newspapers; arranging and classifying 350,000 manuscripts in our archives division; cataloging and indexing books and other material in the library of the Historical Society, copying Indian material in the office of Superintendent of Five Civilized Tribes at Muskogee; to prepare index of material of historical interest belonging to Bacone College at Muskogee; to prepare index of material of historical interest in the files of early Oklahoma papers in the Muskogee Public Library. All of the above for the use and benefit of the Oklahoma Historical Society. All of the above to be deposited and preserved in the Historical Society Building in Oklahoma City."

Twenty-four thousand dollars of Federal funds for workers was apportioned to the project as it then stood. The Oklahoma State Historical Society was to furnish $1,892 of its funds for supplies and there was on hand $135 of Federal money available for the same purpose, making a total of $2,027.

At that time the life of the project was set at five months and the location for the work of the Oklahoma City unit was the State Historical building. The whole project, both here and at Muskogee, was placed under the direct supervision of Dr. Grant Foreman, director of historical research for the Oklahoma Historical Society.

The organization for the Oklahoma City unit was to consist of a directing committee of five persons and fifty workers, the latter to be taken from the relief rolls of the state. The fifty workers were classified as follows: Ten typists at $52 a month;

thirty readers and classifiers at $68; and ten library workers at $75. These people were to work a total of not more than 128 hours in each month, and this working time was divided into five six-hour days each week.

Dr. Foreman, after consultation with Mr. J. J. Hill, assistant librarian of the University of Oklahoma, decided that, with the consent of the President and Secretary of the Historical Society, the major part of the personnel of the project was to be put at cataloging the newspapers in the collection of the Society. This procedure was adopted in anticipation of the Historical Society's newspapers being catalogued and a list submitted to the American Bibliographical Society before the Union List of Newspapers went to press. The desirability of an up-to-date catalogue of the newspapers of Oklahoma was very great, both as an aid to the student and research worker, and as a basis for any future indexing that might be done. The newspaper collections of the Oklahoma Historical Society were in a condition which rendered reference work difficult. The exact contents of the bound volumes were not known. Many unlisted strays were bound in the volumes; there were errors in the order in which the papers were bound; and the unbound part of the collection, often unsorted and confused, was tied up in binder boards. Therefore, the decision to give cataloging precedence seemed wise.

Accounts have been given in previous reports of the program mapped, and the methods worked out, for placing the workers. At all times procedure was rendered difficult by the fact that there was no established precedent to follow, and the supervising staff was compelled to work out its own program. The different steps in this program have called for considerable thought and experimentation.

For the first three months, with the exception of a group of workers placed in charge of Mrs. Watts to work on the archives in her charge; and a division set to work in the newspapers stack room to supply material for the card workers; the people were occupied with making and checking penciled cards for the catalogue. At the end of three months the penciled cards were complete, and so the workers were re-grouped. One group was placed in a typing school and, under their own supervision,

practiced, in preparation for filling in the printed card forms of the permanent catalogue. Another group was started in the work of indexing some of the older and more valuable bound volumes for Oklahoma newspapers. A third division was added to the workers given Mrs. Watts. Several persons were placed in the library duplicate room, cleaning and straightening and listing the contents of the shelves. Later, a few workers were placed with Mrs. Conlan to assist her in tasks connected with the museum. Thus, at the present time, each department of the Society is receiving direct benefit from the project.

It became evident that the work of typing and editing the cards for the catalogue would not be finished by the first of May, and so at that time, the project was extended sixty days. But even at the expiration of the added time, the catalogue was not compete. So once again, added time has been asked to allow for its completion. This added time has met with the approval of the other departments at the Society, which are benefiting from the presence of the workers.

At very few times during the run of the project has a complete quota of fifty workers been on duty. The constant shifting of the personnel has been a handicap to the project, from the angle of concrete accomplishment. The trained workers have a tendency to leave for better paying positions and, invariably, are replaced by untrained workers. This has proved a serious drawback, in that it has retarded the work and made necessary, constant and most painstaking checking of the cards.

There has been also the problem for the supervisors of adjusting the individual worker to the task to be performed. In a few instances this has taken some time and patience. It has been necessary to shift some workers from one group to another and to plan their work especially for them before they fitted into the project. But, in a few cases where the worker was unable to adjust himself to the task and environment, it was necessary to ask for a dismissal. In the majority of cases, however, the final result of the adjustments has been pleasing.

And at this point it may not be amiss to mention the willingness and helpfulness of the workers on the project. Any problem placed before them, they have solved creditably; respon-

sibilities have not only been assumed, but contested for; any extra duties have been, almost invariably, cheerfully performed. Pride and interest in the progress of the work have been constantly manifested. Dr. Foreman and the local supervisors have tried to hold before the workers the great value of the completed project to the state of Oklahoma now, and in the future. A conscious effort has been made to inspire the workers with a feeling of patriotism and of kinship to the state and its history.

Dr. Grant Foreman left the project, as supervisor, on July 1, 1936. This was a great misfortune for the project, as the success of the program is due, in great part, to his wise and kindly supervision. However, he felt sure the program he had outlined was distinct enough to be followed through even in his absence.

Work Accomplished to Date by Workers

Cataloging. Newspapers.

The catalogue to date contains the following:

29,000 cards, prepared in pencil on mimeographed forms, and carefully checked for errors.

13,200 weekly cards edited, typed and filed in final files. This takes care of all the weekly newspapers in the collection of the Society.

2,000 dailies, edited, typed, and filed in final files.

These include all the bound volumes. The daily file, of course, it will be realized is the one that is incomplete. Cards were made for the unbound volumes in boards, but the later decision to send them to the binder, necessitates remaking cards for 1,000 volumes. The list to be submitted by Mr. Hill to the American Bibliographical Society has been completed and is in the hands of the Society at present.

Indexing. Newspapers.

Vols.	Publication	Dates	Type of Index
1	Oklahoma City Times	Dec. 1888 - June 1891	General
3	Journal	July 1, 1893 - Nov. 27, 1894	General
3	Capital, Guthrie	May 26, 1893 - Dec. 31, 1894	General
3	Leader, Guthrie	June 24, 1893 - July 24, 1894	General
3	Cheyenne Transporter	1880 - 1886	
2	Vinita Chieftain	Sept. 21, 1883 - May 1, 1884	
		Jan. 7, 1886 - Sept. 1, 1887	General
38	Muskogee Phoenix	Jan. 1933 - Feb. 1936	Feature
47	Daily Oklahoman	Apr. 1932 - Feb. 1936	Feature
28	Tulsa Daily World	Nov. 1933 - Feb. 1936	Feature

The Cheyenne Transporter has been completed and there have been approximately 9,000 cards typed and filed, available for use as reference. Cards are available for use as reference on other publications being indexed as per above, which approximate 39,000, making a total of 48,000 typed cards.

In addition, there have been recorded in long hand 5,200 notes which when transcribed, will result in the execution of 26,000 cards, which transcription is now being made. All subjects, ie.: Politics, Indian Affairs, Religion, Crime, etc., are included.

Newspapers. Binding.

Over 1,000 unbound volumes of papers have been cleaned, straightened, and arranged in correct chronological and alphabetical order, and tied up for the bindery by a group of workers. This in itself was a large task, and it was performed in record-breaking time, so that the fund from which the binder was to be paid would not lapse before the end of the fiscal year.

Newspapers. Mending.

The mending of the papers has proved to be an important item of the program. The one work of cleaning and arranging for preservation of the newspapers of the state, is of itself of vast significance. Nearly all the papers have required some mending in order to avert further damage. Some issues, par-

ticularly among the older and more valuable ones, were frail and torn and called for deft and skillful handling. The volumes, checked for tears and damage by the card workers, were turned over to the menders, who returned them, after mending, to the stack workers for carefully ordered reshelving.

In all, 13,200 volumes have been cleaned and mended, and the program is still in operation. Mending of the papers has been one of the most expensive items on the program, but the lasting worth of work done, justifies the expense of materials used. All newspaper volumes of the collection, 14,505 in number, have been cleaned and re-stacked, alphabetically and chronologically.

Archives Department.

Mrs. Watts was given five people whom she set to work classifying, according to subjects, the large amount of manuscript material secured from the Kiowa & Comanche Indian Agency under Act of Congress of March, 1934. It is estimated there are seven tons of this material, which when classified, fell under 185 general classifications. Many of these classifications must be sub-classified and all of it filed chronologically.

After completion of the general classification of Kiowa material, the workers commenced classifying the Cheyenne and Arapaho manuscripts. There are two or three tons of this material. Much is yet to be sub-classified, and all of it filed chronologically.

Before this Project started, Mrs. Watts had begun classifying the material from the Shawnee Indian Agency and the old Sac & Fox Agency. After completion of classification of the Cheyenne and Arapaho material, the Shawnee and Sac & Fox classifications were taken up again. Mrs. Watts secured additional material remaining at both of the above named agencies. This new material probably weighed two and one-half tons. Probably half of this was classified by Mrs. Watts' department; the other half, having been surveyed by the Federal Archives Survey Project before being brought to Oklahoma City, Mrs. Watts is waiting until that project under the direction of Dr. Wardell, checks its serials, before she can go on with its classification.

The workers were next set to classifying the material from the Pawnee Indian Agency. There are probably a hundred thousand manuscripts from this agency alone. At this time Mrs. Watts was in need of book shelves upon which to place 2,000 or more letter press copy books and other bound volumes received from all of the above named agencies. Shelves, loaned to her by the librarian of the Historical Society, were erected by two of the workers and the books of each agency placed thereon. The two thousand books referred to are yet to be indexed.

At present, the workers for Mrs. Watts are classifying the five four-drawer filing cases of material from the Chilocco Indian School. After completion of this it will still be necessary to subclassify many general classifications of all the above material, and lastly to file chronologically, all material classified. As stated above, 2,000 or more letter press copy books and other bound records, are yet to be indexed.

Mrs. Watts plans soon to secure Kiowa material recently located by the Federal Archives Survey Project, in the basement of the old Kiowa Indian Agency at Anadarko and in the loft of the Agency barn. This will have to be classified also.

At present there are five people classifying manuscripts in Mrs. Watts' department, and five people filing chronologically those manuscripts already classified.

Library stack-room. Duplicate room.

The workers have straightened, arranged, cleaned and listed the books on the shelves in this room as follows:

Shelves straightened	207
Number of books listed and re-shelved	3,547

Museum.

Much material has been placed in the museum store-room and apparently forgotten, after the Society moved to its new quarters. This material was sorted, cleaned, classified, and turned over to the various departments to which it belonged.

The collection of cuts, belonging to the Society, has been cleaned, labeled, listed, and tied up in new containers.

At present, three workers are engaged in classifying a mass of pictures of historical interest acquired by the Society.

SPONSORS' CONTRIBUTION.
FINANCIAL STATEMENT
July 1, 1936

Total funds appropriated by Historical Society			$1,892.00
Supplies:			
Requisition No. 16	$ 86.43		
Requisition No. 18	61.99		
Requisition No. 21	54.60		
Requisition No. 22	68.48		
Requisition No. 24	4.50		
Requisition No. 25	54.20		
Requisition No. 26	4.56		
Requisition No. 30	4.20		
Requisition No. 31	68.06		
Requisition No. 34	72.45		
Requisition No. 36	27.00		
Requisition No. 40	34.98		
Requisition No. 41	59.35		
Requisition No. 44	9.60		
Requisition No. 45	49.20		
Requisition No. 47	80.09		
Requisition No. 54	2.00		
Requisition No. 56	8.00		
Requisition No. 53	16.00		
Requisition No. 53	9.20		
Requisition No. 58	166.00		
Requisition No. 60	87.20		
Requisition No. 62	25.20		
Requisition No. 63	45.57	1,099.36	
Postage			
December 18, 1935	6.00		
January 27, 1936	10.00		
July 1, 1936	30.00	46.00	
Typewriters			
Requisition No. 19-52	90.00		
Requisition No. 20-51	36.00		
Requisition No. 32	26.00		
Requisition No. 33	90.00	242.00	
Traevling Expenses			
Claim—to December 12, 1935	60.01		
Claim—to March 1, 1936	94.80	154.81	
Printing			
Requisition No. 35	305.14	305.14	
Total expenditure			1,847.31
Balance unexpended			44.69

Rent on typewriters to July 1, 1936
Traveling expenses to July 1, 1936
(as paid by this project)

The project, if it is continued to completion, must have certain funds at its disposal, for continued supplies in use at both the Oklahoma City and Muskogee units. Therefore, it is requested that the sum of $800 be set aside for the use of the project during the remainder of its life. This estimate is based on the monthly expenditure of the project to date. Any funds unexpended at the end of the project will revert to the Society.

The supervising staff feels that the project has accomplished very creditable results. In addition to a definite program outlined by and conveying benefits to the Historical Society, and whose value will be evident in the future, the project has furnished self-respecting and educational employment to a number of educated people who were so unfortunate as to be in need of Federal aid. The supervisors feel there is justification for their pride in the achievements of the project, of which the evidence will be left behind for all time in the files of the Oklahoma State Historical Society.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

The regular quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society convened in the Historical building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, July 23, 1936, at 10:00 A. M., with Judge Thomas H. Doyle, President, presiding.

Roll call showed the following members present: Gen. Charles F. Barrett, Judge Harry Campbell, Judge Thomas H. Doyle, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Judge Samuel W. Hayes, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Gen. William S. Key, Mrs. Frank Korn, Col. A. N. Leecraft, Mr. John B. Meserve, Mr. W. J. Peterson, Judge Baxter Taylor, Dr. J. B. Thoburn, Judge William P. Thompson, Mrs. John R. Williams, Judge R. L. Williams and Dan W. Peery, the Secretary.

Upon motion, duly seconded, the reading of the minutes of the quarterly meeting held April 23, 1936, was dispensed with.

Col. A. N. Leecraft introduced Mr. W. J. Peterson, the new member of the Board.

The Secretary read his report on the activities of the Society for the second quarter, and submitted the report of the Works Progress Administration at the Historical building.

Judge R. L. Williams moved that the WPA report be printed in Chronicles of Oklahoma. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge R. L. Williams read a letter from Dr. Grant Foreman in regard to compiling the Union List of Newspapers for the entire United States and particularly Oklahoma, and presented Mr. James J. Hill, assistant librarian of the University of Oklahoma, who discussed the matter further and explained what was necessary to complete the list for publication.

Gen. William S. Key, State Director of the Works Progress Administration, assumed responsibility for the completion of the work of preparing this Union list of Newspapers for publication.

Mrs. John R. Williams presented to the Society, as a loan, a pictograph of the history of the Kiowa Indians, which was originally owned by Neal Evans, a post trader at Fort Reno, and is now owned by his grandsons, Neal Maurer and William A. Maurer.

Judge William P. Thompson moved that we accept the loan of this pictograph. Motion was seconded and carried.

The Chair appointed General Barrett, Judge Taylor and Judge Thompson to invite the representatives of Harmony Chapter No. 3 of the American War Mothers to come before the Board and present a memorial quilt on which is embroidered the names of World war veterans and their mothers, the presentation being made by Mrs. Aulana Levens.

Gen. William S. Key moved that the gift be accepted and that we express our appreciation for the gift and more than all for the fine sentiment which it typifies. Motion was seconded and carried.

Mrs. Sallie Wheeler, on behalf of the Harmony Chapter No. 3, American War Mothers, asked permission to take the quilt back and complete

the inscriptions on it at which time it is to be returned to the Museum, which permission was granted.

Judge R. L. Williams read his report on behalf of the committee who supervised the construction of the Sequoyah Memorial.

Judge William P. Thompson moved that this report be printed in Chronicles. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge R. L. Williams reported the following expenses incurred in connection with the Sequoyah Memorial: Night watchman for the Sequoyah Home until taken over by the WPA, $5.00 and Muskogee Tin Shop & Roofing Company, $3.50 for copper box for corner stone in the Sequoyah Memorial building.

Judge William P. Thompson moved that these bills be allowed and paid out of our funds. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge Thomas H. Doyle, President, requested Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Vice President to take the chair.

The Secretary reported an application for the position of custodian for the Sequoyah Memorial building.

Judge Samuel W. Hayes moved that applications for Custodian be referred to the committee in charge of Sequoyah Memorial park. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge Robert A. Hefner moved that Judge R. L. Williams, Mr. W. W. Hastings and Dr. Grant Foreman be thanked for the work they did in promoting the Sequoyah Memorial, and that this committee be continued. Motion was seconded and carried.

The following list of applicants for annual membership was read:

Mrs. Elsie May Barnes, Oklahoma City; W. A. Beam, Haskell; Mrs. J. K. Campbell, Jackson, Tennessee; Mrs. Rosa L. Chism, Oklahoma City; Withers Clay, Tulsa; H. J. Conhaim, Tulsa; Charles E. DeLaughter, Oklahoma City; Ned P. DeWitt, Oklahoma City; H. F. Donnelley, Enid; W. H. Fox, Marshall; Mrs. J. R. Fryrear, Chickasha; Fred T. Haddock, Tulsa; Edna Hoagland, Medford; B. B. Holland, Amarillo, Texas; Mrs. Etta E. Howland, Oklahoma City; Fred W. Insull, Tulsa; Harold Keith, Norman; Mrs. Maude E. Long, Oklahoma City; H. H. McKeever, Enid; Robert E. Mahaffey, Oklahoma City; Clarence Markham, Muskogee; Joe Paskvan, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Ora Rieser, Atoka; Robert H. Slover, Oklahoma City; J. Hiram Tandy, Tulsa; M. M. Tate, Oklahoma City; T. J. Traynor, Enid and Virgil O. Wood, Tulsa.

Gen. William S. Key moved that they be elected annual members of the Oklahoma Historical Society, which motion was seconded and carried.

Mrs. Frank Korn presented a bill for $2.00 for changing the lock on the kitchenette, which upon motion was allowed and ordered to be paid.

Judge R. L. Williams moved that the report of Dr. Grant Foreman on the WPA project for the Historical Society be received and filed, and a letter of thanks be written to Doctor Foreman. Motion was seconded and carried .

Judge Campbell moved that the financial report of the donations and expenses incurred in regard to the Fort Gibson project be accepted and filed. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge R. L. Williams moved that the donors be thanked for their contributions for the purchase and restoration of the old barracks building, the bakery and the ammunition building at Fort Gibson. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge R. L. Williams moved that each Indian who had contributed to the Sequoyah memorial be written a letter of thanks, under the seal of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Motion was seconded and carried.

Dr. J. B. Thoburn discussed the donation of two pieces of artillery that had come into the possession of the Historical Society, during the administration of Governor William H. Murray and moved that one piece be donated to the Fort Gibson Stockade Commission to be placed in the enclosure. Motion was seconded and carried.

Upon motion the Board resolved itself into an executive session.

Executive session being dissolved the Board continued.

Mr. John B. Meserve moved that the Secretary be requested to draw up suitable resolutions of sympathy and convey them to the President of the Society for the bereavement he had sustained in the loss of his wife. Motion was seconded and carried.

Mr. W. J. Peterson presented the request of the Creek Indian Memorial Association for certain back numbers of Chronicles for their library. Upon motion, duly seconded the donation was authorized.

Dr. J. B. Thoburn presented a memorandum from Mr. Robert H. Slover, State Supervisor, Historical Records Survey, listing the material in certain counties and cities that should be collected by the Historical Society.

Judge R. L. Williams moved that the incoming secretary, J. W. Moffitt, who is to assume his duties as secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society on September 1st, make request upon officials both state and county within this state having custody of any seal, record, original paper or other document not required by laws of this state to be retained as a part of the record of such office, that same be delivered to him as a transfer to the Oklahoma Hisotrical Society, as provided in Section 4896, Okla. Stat. 1931, and as proivded in Section 6, Article 16, page 64, Session Laws Oklahoma, 1935, wherein it is provided:

"Any official of the State, or any sub-division thereof, having the custody of any seal, record, original paper or other document not required by laws of this State to be retained as a part of the record of such office shall transfer the same to the Oklahoma Historical Society to be held by it."

Robert H. Slover, State Supervisor Historical Records Survey Federal Writers' Project, has caused to be made a survey of such records in the possession of county officers. The county officers do not have adequate facilities to keep and preserve such records and the room available to them is now becoming over crowded and there is no available additional storage space and it is important that these records be speedily gathered up and brought to the Oklahoma Historical Society where the same may be placed in steel cases, there being available room for such cases in the room heretofore occupied by the secretary of the Indian educational department. In the government's survey, these records have been gathered and they can now be assembled and transferred to the Historical Society with great convenience, and this resolution directs the secretary, J. W. Moffitt, to proceed as soon as he can conveniently and speedily to

begin the assembling of such records. But before he begins the matter should be taken up with the Attorney General of the state and he should receive an opinion from him so that he can present it to the county officers so they will understand how far they may go in transferring these records to the custody of the Historical Society. In the event the local authorities should have occasion for the use of certified copies of these records under Section 7, Article 16, page 65 Session Laws 1935, it is the duty of the secretary or chief clerk of the board of directors of the Historical Society to furnish such certified copies when required in the transaction of the business of the state without fee—and the county is the agent of the state. This applies to all certified copies of records, papers or other documents, including excerpts and parts of all newspapers on file, and papers and archives held by said society. The secretary is directed to begin his work in assembling these records upon these conditions from the counties in the following order: Carter, Muskogee, Pittsburg, Craig, Ottawa, Grady, Kiowa, Osage, Kingfisher, Logan, Canadian, Tulsa, Caddo, Washington, Oklahoma, Cleveland, Noble and Woods, as the report of Mr. R. H. Slover shows that the space for the custody of such records is especially crowded in these counties. It is especially important that he receive an opinion letter from the Attorney General so that he may show it to the county officers that have the custody of these records and that he may be advised as to his authority in the premises. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge Thomas H. Doyle moved that the Society accept the offer of Larry Pendleton to furnish a portrait of William P. Campbell, founder of the Oklahoma Historical Society, for the price specified; namely, $100. Motion was seconded and carried.

On motion the meeting stood adjourned.

Judge Thomas H. Doyle, President,
Presiding.

Dan W. Peery, Secretary.

MABEL A. RANCK

1889—1936

In looking over the necrology columns published every day in the newspapers we are prone to give the names of those who have passed to the Great Beyond but a passing glance, except we chance to read the name of someone whom we have known personally and claimed as a friend, or if the notice tells of the death of a person of distinction whose name is well known. It is only then we stop to think and ponder upon their lives. Yet every day there is recorded the death of those whose lives have been worth while, and who should be remembered, yet three or four lines of type are all that are employed to record their departure, but not one line to speak of their virtues.

If one were reading an Oklahoma City paper on January 7, 1936, he may have seen this notice: "Ranck, Mabel A., died at St. Anthony's Hospital, interment at Gage, Oklahoma." These few words recorded the passing of one of Oklahoma's most intellectual and cultured women. As a writer she had the gift of writing on historic topics and expressing her thoughts not only to entertain the reader but also to convey knowledge.

Miss Ranck had long been a member of the Oklahoma Historical Society and had been a valued contributor to the Chronicles. In Vol. 8, page 378, Chronicles of Oklahoma, there appears an article by Miss Ranck entitled, "Some Remnants of Frontier Journalism." The reader will also find an interesting story of "John Rollin Ridge in California," in the December 1932 Chronicles. Miss Ranck had spent much time in educational work in California. We publish below the obituary of Miss Ranck taken from the Gage Record—January 1936.

"Mabel A. Ranck was born November 5, 1889, in Union County, Pennsylvania. She moved with her parents to the State of Nebraska in 1896 and to the State of Oklahoma in 1902. She attended the public schools of Ellis County and was graduated from the Gage High School in 1905. She taught school in Ellis County eight years; attended the Northwestern State Normal School, Alva, Oklahoma, and graduated from the latter institution in 1913.

She attended the University of Oklahoma, the University of Colorado, the University of California and was graduated from the University of California with degrees of A. B. and M. A. in 1920 and 1926. Later she studied at the National University of the Republic of Mexico, Mexico City, Mexico. She taught in the high schools of the states of Arizona and California. In addition to her life work of teaching she had written and published a number of historical articles on early Oklahoma history and the Indians of the Southwest, as historical research was one of her major interests. She also spent a part of one year in extensive travel over Continental Europe.

Within recent years she experienced failing health and last fall suffered a complete nervous breakdown and was forced to give up her teaching position in the United States Indian School at Carson City, Nevada, and return to Oklahoma for rest and treatment. January 1, 1936, she went to Oklahoma City for further health treatment and died Jan-

uary 7, 1936 in St. Anthony's Hospital, Oklahoma City. Interment was made in the I. O. O. F. Cemetery, Gage.

Miss Ranck united with the Methodist Church at the age of 15 years and remained an active church member and worker the rest of her life.

She is survived by her mother, Mrs. Kate E. Ranck, Gage; one sister, Mrs. F. W. Diacon, Oklahoma City; and three brothers, William A. Ranck, Denver, Colorado; L. B. Ranck, Gage; and George D. Ranck, Gage. Her father M. J. Ranck preceded her in death about six years ago." —D. W. P.

MRS. JOHN F. EASLEY
President Ardmore Ryonis Club and prominent clubwoman.

MRS. JOHN F. EASLEY

J. H. Snyder
Daily Ardmoreite
Ardmore, Oklahoma

Citizens of Ardmore, regardless of creed or color, were saddened when the sudden death of Mrs. John Easley was announced on the morning of July 3, and genuine regret was universally expressed at the passing of one who had been so prominently identified with the civic well being of the city and community. Death came just one day after the anniversary of her birth, which occurred in Sonora, Gorden county, Georgia, a daughter of Dr. M. J. Dudley, who served as surgeon in the Confederate army and practiced his profession in that area for many years.

As a young woman she came to the southwest and as Miss Lucille Dudley, resided in Texas and in southern Indian Territory, and it was at the little inland town of Leon in Love County that she was married to John F. Easley, just a few days more than forty years before the time of her death. It was in 1896 that the Easley's moved to Ardmore where Mr. Easley became identified with the Daily Ardmoreite, of which he is now its editor and owner, and from that time until the hour of her passing she was regarded as a leader in every movement for the betterment of the city and community, and was frequently spoken of as one of the city's most useful women. It was her inspiration that suggested a women's civic organization in Ardmore. She enlisted the aid of her husband in the enterprise and the Ryonis club was the result, which is gradually spreading to more than local proportions. She was also an active member of the Ladies of the Leaf, one of the pioneer literary clubs of the state, and served as one of its presidents. Besides her club activities, her life was devoted to many deeds of charity.

Always deeply interested in the less fortunate, she made no discrimination because of race or religion, her kindly deeds were distributed to all alike, and it was from those who were recipients of her bounty that genuine sorrow was expressed when her sudden death was announced. A devoted wife and mother, Mrs. Easley's was a quiet unassuming personality, always thoughtful of others, loyal to a fault of her friends, and devoted to an unusual degree to her home and family.

A sterling character, a generous, splendid representative of the womanhood of the great southwest, she has gone to that eternal reward which comes as the fulfillment of a life crowded with good deeds accomplished for all those she loved and served.

Mrs. Easley suffered much, yet, she bore her suffering with that Spartan fortitude that set her apart. She had sublime faith in the future, and her life was so coordinated with that faith that it intensified her trust in life beyond the grave. Although death came suddenly, yet there is little doubt but what she knew the inevitable was at hand. Her steadfast belief that death was not the end, that life was not all is exemplified in a poem by an anonymous writer she cherished and often repeated, a few lines which are appropriate here read:

"If life were all,
Where were the recompense
For all our tears?
The troubled toil
Of all the long drawn years,
The struggle to survive,
The passing show,
Were scarce worth while
If life were all.

"Life is not all,
I do not understand the plans;
I only know that God is good,
And that his strength sustains.
I only know that God is just;
So in the starless, songless night,
I lift my heart to him and trust;
And God my spirit witness gives,
Life is not all."

Firmly she believed with the poet, that life is not all; that beyond that bank of shadows which men call death there is another life where we take up the higher, eternal tasks prepared for those who leave their earthly cares to enter straight another elysian chamber, larger than this we leave, and lovelier. The death of Mrs. Easley interrupted a beautiful home life, it severed the tie that bound relations and friends, it terminated the existence of one whose life had been devoted to service above self, it cast a pall of gloom over a community where she was so universally loved.

Besides her husband she is survived by one daughter, Maurier Easley Riesen, and three grandchildren.

That a life so devoted, a life so weighted with self sacrifice and steadfast devotion to the well being of others, will receive its just reward, a devoted husband, and innumerable friends believe, and with one accord all breathe a silent prayer that her soul today is finding that eternal peace and happiness it so richly deserves.

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

The CHRONICLES *of* OKLAHOMA

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14 No 4

The Chronicles of Oklahoma

Volume XIV **December, 1936** **Number 4**

Published Quarterly by
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Correspondence in regard to contributions to the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* should be sent to James W. Moffitt, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

The Oklahoma Historical Society sends the *Chronicles* to its members. The cost of annual membership is one dollar; of life membership twenty-five dollars. Membership applications and dues should be sent to the Secretary.

Materials which illustrate in any manner the history of Oklahoma, the Indians, and the southwest will be gladly received and carefully preserved. Donors will receive suitable acknowledgment of their generosity.

Entered as second class matter January 11, 1934, at the Post Office in Oklahoma City, under Act of August 24, 1912.

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The Chronicles of Oklahoma

Volume XIV December 1936 Number 4

THE JOURNAL OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT OUR FIRST TREATY WITH THE WILD INDIANS, 1835

Edited by Grant Foreman

By the adoption of a new policy based upon President Jackson's Indian Removal Bill of 1830, many treaties were made with the Indians providing for their removal from the east to the west side of the Mississippi River. To carry these measures into effect a commission was set up at Fort Gibson for the purpose of locating the immigrant Indians on their new domain and inducing the wild Indians to receive them as neighbors. This commission was composed of Gov. Montfort Stokes of North Carolina, chairman, Henry L. Ellsworth of Hartford, Conn., and Rev. John F. Schermerhorn of Utica, New York. They began their labors in December, 1832.

They early undertook to make contact with the wild Indians in an effort to quiet the fears of the early arrivals among the Creeks who were much alarmed by the demonstrations of their neighbors. The first expedition from Fort Gibson to their country was that commanded by Capt. Jesse Bean and accompanied by Washington Irving. It failed of its purpose. The next year a more ambitious campaign was undertaken by Col. James B. Many. This command of two companies of the Seventh Infantry and three of the rangers spent an arduous summer in quest of the Indians of the present western Oklahoma with no success.

In 1834 a better organized and equipped campaign was launched; it was the famous Dragoon expedition that left Fort

Gibson in June, for the home of the prairie Indians. They went to the site of the future Fort Sill to see the Comanches and farther to the west of the mountains where the Wichita Indians lived. This was a tragic enterprise that cost the lives of General Leavenworth and 150 other men out of a total of 500 engaged. But they at last succeeded in bringing a delegation of Kiowa, Comanche, Waco, and Wichita Indians to Fort Gibson. Up to now these Indians knew no white man but the Mexicans whose language many of them spoke. They were ignorant of the fact that the country over which they roamed belonged to the United States and they had no idea of yielding allegiance to this or any other nation of white men.

A great council was then convened at Fort Gibson attended by 150 Indians. Here, by dint of interminable interpreting, the policy of the United States was explained to the wild visitors from the west and the idea of making treaties of peace was discussed. They were alert to discover that peace councils connoted presents and readily fell in with the idea of holding another, but it was explained to them that the officers in the council had no authority at the time to make a treaty. However, they were promised that in the buffalo country "when the grass next grows after the snows, which are soon to fall, shall have melted away," a treaty would be held when more presents would be given them.

No steps were taken to hold the treaty council with the western Indians until the next year. In March, 1835, Holland Coffee, his partners, Calville and Isaac Pennington, Indian traders, came to Fort Gibson and brought word that the Indians were becoming restless to know when that novel occasion was to materialize. The Indians also sent word that they wished the council to be held in the vicinity of Coffee's trading post on the Red river. At that time the buffaloes were becoming scarce in the present eastern Oklahoma, and the Indians so absolutely dependent on that animal for food, would not consider coming in large numbers for a prolonged stay in a section of country where plenty of buffaloes were not to be

found. Hence they desired that when they came to meet the white representatives the place of meeting should be in the buffalo country of western Oklahoma.

Two Wichitas and a Waco came to Fort Gibson commissioned by their tribes to inquire when the council would be held. As there was no interpreter at the Post, General Arbuckle was not able to communicate with them for several weeks until he at last found a woman among the Osages who could perform that office for them. In the meantime a commission was on the way from Washington directing General Arbuckle, Governor Stokes and Maj. F. W. Armstrong to hold a treaty conference with the Comanche, Kiowa, and other western Indians at Fort Gibson. The object of the conference as recited in the letter of instructions was to establish amicable relations between the Comanche and other predatory tribes roaming along the western border, and the United States; and between these and the Indian tribes removing from the east.

The board of commissioners organized early in May and through the newly secured interpreter discussed with the western emissaries the matter of holding a treaty conference at Fort Gibson. After two days of discussion and interpreting the commissioners found that it would be impossible to secure even an interview with the Comanche and other chiefs before late July. They were informed that a war party had gone over the line into Texas, and the remaining bands were hunting on the "Great Prairies"; and that none of them would return until the green corn raised by the Wichita Indians was ripe enough for feasting on it.

The commissioners then sent Maj. R. B. Mason with a force of dragoons to establish a camp at a suitable place for holding the conference with the western Indians. On May 18, Mason and his command marched forth from Fort Gibson under orders to station himself on Little river. But the site selected by Mason for his fort was in the edge of the Cross Timbers near a spring on a small creek on the north side of the Canadian

River about five miles northeast of where is now the town of Purcell and a little nearer to the present Lexington. It was a favorite camping ground for the Indians and was later the site of a Kichai village. Mason described it as a beautiful location, with a border of timber to the east, ten miles of prairie to the west, encircled with sparse woods and having a fine running brook and a number of springs. The establishment for some unaccountable reason was generally called Camp Holmes, though the Chouteaus and some others called it Fort Mason for the officer who established it.

Near the first of July the Comanche and other Indians began arriving at Mason's fort in great numbers, and refused to yield in their determination to have the conference there rather than at Fort Gibson. At first they established themselves eight or ten miles from Camp Holmes in such numbers that one report said there were 7,000 present. Their number was so large and their attitude so menacing upon viewing the handful of men under Major Mason, that on the third day of July this officer dispatched an "express" to General Arbuckle at Fort Gibson appealing for more troops. Arbuckle at once returned an answer by the Osage Indians who brought the message, assuring Major Mason of the desired reinforcements, and directly dispatched to his assistance campanies T and H of the Seventh Infantry numbering 100 men under Capt. Francis Lee, together with a piece of ordnance.

While the commissioners were making their plans to go to Camp Holmes for the conference, Major Armstrong was taken seriously ill, and on August 6 died at his home at the Choctaw agency 12 miles west of Fort Smith. On the same day General Arbuckle and Governor Stokes departed from Fort Gibson for Camp Holmes with an escort of companies A and D of the Seventh Infantry, commanded by Maj. George Birch. Accompanying them were Indian traders and delegations from the Creek, Osage, Seneca, and Quapaw; the Cherokee, Choctaw, and Delaware were to follow soon after. There was a train of wagons laden with camp equipment, provisions and presents,

of a miscellaneous character for the Indians. On their arrival at Camp Holmes the force of soldiers amounted to 250; this number the commissioners believed was necessary to enable them to maintain their position and secure the respect of the Indians, and as a warning to them that the white man was prepared to occupy the position permanently unless the Indians entered into the desired treaty of peace.

The board of commissioners composed of Stokes and Arbuckle appointed Lieut. Washington Seawell as secretary and began negotiations with the Indians. A great brush arbor had been erected by the soldiers and seats made of split logs were arranged under it for the accommodation of the chiefs and principal men. For a few days the Indians visited around getting acquainted with each other; the first contact of most of the immigrant Indians with the wild people of the west.

The nights were spent in dancing around the great council fire with the wild people of the west. Many preliminaries, speech making and interminable interpretation occupied much time; finally, after the assurance of presents to be made following the signing, the treaty was entered into on August 24 between the Comanche and Wichita, their associated bands or tribes and the United States; and between these western Indians and the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Osage, Seneca and Quapaw. The Kiowa Indians did not remain to participate in the treaty; it was reported that they left through fear of the Osages, their enemies of long standing.

After the treaty conference there was the tumult and disorder of breaking camp, pulling down and folding up of tents, stripping lodges of canvas and skins, and the departure of the visitors, men, women and children, for their remote homes. The infantry left Camp Holmes ahead, but the better mounted dragoons arrived at Fort Gibson first on the fifth of September. Governor Stokes and General Arbuckle reached the post on the twelfth. The venerable former governor of North Carolina, 75 years of age, performed all the labors required of him by his commission, intrepidly covered the 300 miles entailed by

the journey through the heat of summer and returned to Fort Gibson in good health. Col. A. P. Chouteau, the shrewd trader, quick to realize the advantage of the location and the influence of the new treaty, occupied the site of Camp Holmes and erected buildings here for a trading post where he bartered with the Indians until his death in 1839.

The following journal of the proceedings at this, our first treaty council with the western Indians, was found in the old files of the office of the Indians affairs in Washington.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS of
M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, & F. W. Armstrong.

Commissioners appointed to hold a Treaty with the Comanche, Caiaway and other Nations and Tribes of Indians on the South Western Frontier of the U. States 1835.

Fort Gibson May 4th, 1835.

Received the commission of appointment and letter of instructions from the Secretary of War dated March 27, 1835 directed to; Hon. M. Stokes,[1] Bret. Brig. Genl. M. Arbuckle,[2] Major F. W. Armstrong.[3]

Fort Gibson 5 May 1835. The board met and entered on business. Present; M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Commissioners.

Wrote a letter and sent by express to Major F. W. Armstrong at the Choctaw Agency, notifying him of the appointment and requesting his attendance at Fort Gibson as soon as convenient.

Fort Gibson May 7, 1835. The Board met; Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Commissioners.

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[1] Montfort Stokes, a veteran of the Revolutionary War, was later governor of and United States senator from North Carolina. He served as Cherokee Indian agent at and near Fort Gibson where he died November 4, 1842, at the age of 82.

[2] Matthew Arbuckle, colonel of the Seventh United States Infantry was commandant at Fort Gibson except for brief intervals from its establishment in 1824 to 1841. He died of cholera at Fort Smith in 1851.

[3] Francis W. Armstrong, born in Virginia, captain in the Seventh Infantry was afterward United States marshal for the District of Alabama. In March 1831 he was appointed agent for the Choctaw Indians in Arkansas Territory. Later he served as acting superintendent of Indian affairs for the Western Territory which office he held until his death at the Choctaw Agency near the present Spiro, Oklahoma. His neglected grave is a few miles north of there near the site of Fort Coffee.

Appointed Col. A. P. Chouteau,[4] Interpreter of the Osage language, and sent an express with a request that he bring in from Clermonts Town, the two Tow e ash and one Waco Indians, together with the Tow e ash woman to be used as an interpreter.

Fort Gibson May 10th, 1835. The Board met; Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Commissioiners. Col. Chouteau arrived, with the three Indians from the Tow e ash and Waco Village's and the Tow e ash woman.

Fort Gibson May 11th, 1835. The Board met; Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Commissioners.

Held a talk with the three Western Indians on the subject of the proposed Treaty with the Comanches, and other Tribes. The Osage 2d Chiefs Black Dog and Tally were present.

Fort Gibson May 12, 1835. The Board met; Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Commissioners.

Held a Council with the three Western Indians in presence of Black Dog, Tally and others of the Osage Nation.

Explained to the Indians the views of the Government of the United States in proposing a treaty with the Comanches and other wandering Nations or tribes on the Western Frontier.

Fort Gibson May 13, 1835. The Board met; Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, F. W. Armstrong, Commissioners.

Held a further Council with the three Western Indians, in presence of, and asisted by Black Dog, Tally and other Osages.

Fort Gibson May 14, 1835. The Board met; Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, F. W. Armstrong, Commissioners.

Held a further Council with the three Western Indians and the principal Indians present, of the Osages. —Considered it proper that Major Mason with a party of Dragoons should proceed to the head of little river of the Canadian, and select a suitable place for having an interview with the Chiefs of the Comanche, and other Tribes of the Western Frontier. Determined to send the three western Indians, Col. Chouteau, the

[4] Col. A. P. Chouteau, an active trader among the Indians, had trading establishments at the Three Forks and at the site of the present Salina, Oklahoma.

two Tow e ash women and three Osage Indians with Major Mason. —Engaged Tally for this purpose. —Engaged the three Tow e ash and Waco Indians to assist in bringing in the Chiefs of the Comanche Tribes to Fort Gibson for the purpose of making the proposed Treaty.

Wrote a letter to the Secretary of War informing him of these arrangements.

Fort Gibson May 15, 1835. The Board met; Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, F. W. Armstrong, Commissioners.

Held a further Council with the three Western Indians and a number of the Osages. Obtained the promise of Black Dog and the Osages to refrain from any hostile acts towards the Comanche's and other wandering Western Tribes.

Fort Gibson May 16, 1835. The Board met; Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Com'rs.

Made arrangements for the departure of the Western Indians, with the Tow e ash women. —purchased and gave them some small presents, —purchased a Horse at the price of Sixty five dollars for the Tow e ash woman to ride to the west, and to carry her child. Purchased Stationery for the use of the Commissioners. The name of the principal Tow e ash Indian is Nuck, the names of his two companions are Tauacaquerie and Chotadaces. The name of the Tow e ash woman employed as an interpreter is Oscimka.

Fort Gibson May 18, 1835. The Board met; Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Com'rs.

This day Col. A. P. Chouteau with one Osage Interpreter arrived from his residence near the great Saline in order to accompany the expedition to the West, under Major Mason.[5]

The commissioners were this day employed in fiting out the Western expedition. Purchased a Horse at the price of thirty five dollars for Nuck, the principal Tow e ash Indian, he having lost his own. Gave the three Tow e ash and Waco Indians, and the Tow e ash woman employed as enterpreter some presents consisting of Blankets Hats &c.

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[5] Richard Barnes Mason, born in Virginia, major of the first regiment of dragoons, saw much service at Fort Gibson. In 1848 he was in command of the Tenth Military Department with headquarters at Monterey, California. He died July 25, 1850.

Fort Gibson May 19, 1835. The Board met; Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Com'rs.

The board were engaged in completing the preparations and preparing instructions for Col. Couteau for the western Expedition. —Had a consultation with a Mr. Pennington,[6] residing in the Creek Nation relative to a War party of Texas Indians fitting out by the Texas Government against the Comanches, and these subordinate Bands. Genl. Arbuckle made arrangements with Col. Many,[7] Commandant at Fort Jesup near Nacogdoches, and with Major Mason commanding the Western expedition, in order if possible, to counteract and prevent any mischevious consiquences to our trading House, and to the Comanchies from this War party of Texas Indians. This day dispatched Tally, and the other Osage guides, across the Arkansas River, with a small outfit of powder and lead, and four Rifles, for the purpose of killing game for the party.

Fort Gibson May 20, 1835. The Board met; Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Com'rs.

This day dispatched Col. Chouteau with Nuck, the principal Tow e ash and his two companions, with the Tow e ash woman As-cim-ka who crossed the Arkansas river and joined Major Mason on the Western Expedition.

Fort Gibson May 23, 1835. The Board met; Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Com'rs.

Hed a consultation with Clermont principal Chief of the Osage Nation and twenty five of his band on the subject of the proposed Treaty with the Comanches: But having no interpreter the talk was not satisfactory.

Fort Gibson May 24, 1835. The Board met; Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Com'rs.

Procured the assistance of Antoine Lombard as an Interpreter and had a further conversation with Clermont, La Foi and other chiefs and warriors of the Osages — They promised to attend the proposed Treaty with the Comanches and designated the hunting ground of each Band of the Osages, where

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[6] Isaac Pennington, an Indian trader who had been associated with Colonel Chouteau and Hugh Glenn on the Verdigris.

[7] James B. Many, born in Delaware, entered the army in 1798; as lieutenant colonel of the Seventh Infantry, in 1824 he came to Fort Gibson where he saw many years of service and was at one time in command. He died in 1852.

they may be found, until their summer hunt is over; which will be about the last of July. They earnestly begged for presents for their hunting outfit: But our means for presents and for the expences of the Treaty, being extremely limited, we only gave them a small quantity of Tobacco, to conciliate their good feelings towards the accomplishment of the views of the Government in the proposed Treaty. Several of the Warriors expressed a perfect indifference as to the success of the Treaty: alledging that the plunder of Comanche horses, and unrestrained hunting of Game on the Prairie, was more profitable to them than anything they received from the Government of the United States for acceeding to, or aiding in a treaty of Peace. These speeches of the Osage Chiefs and Warriors, as well as those of the Commissioners, would have been recorded; but the Commissioners have no Secretary, and from the circumscribed regulations of the Secretary of War, it is not probable a Secretary can be procured on the terms prescribed in the instructions.

The records of the proceedings of the Board are kept by the voluntary labour of one of the Commissioners.

Fort Gibson May 31st, 1835. The Board met; Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Com'rs.

This meeting of the Board was at the request of Black Dog an Osage Warrior and his party. They stated that they were desirous to meet the Commissioners at the Treaty to be held with the Comanches and other Western tribes: But that themselves and their families were now suffering for want of provisions, and that their intention was to go immediately on their Buffalo hunt on the Western Prairie, and from thence to the Treaty when the time should be fixed. They stated that they were in absolute need of powder & lead, for their hunt, but were unable to procure it, and entreated the Commissioners to assist them. The commissioners taking into consideration the starving condition of this Tribe, furnished Black Dog and his Band one keg of powder, and fifty pounds of lead.

Fort Gibson June 10, 1835. The Board met; Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Commissioners.

The Commissioners having purchased sundry articles for the outfit and accommodation of the party, the guides and interpreters set out with Major Mason's Detachment, for the purpose of inviting the Comanche's and other Western tribes to

a treaty; and the Commissioners having occasion for other and further supplies, they drew a check on the Union Bank of Louisiana for five hundred dollars, in favor of E. W. B. Nowland[8] who furnished the supplies aforesaid, and engaged to furnish such others as may be required.

Fort Gibson July 8, 1835. The Board met; Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Com'rs.

Two Osages having arrived at this post on the 6th ins. on express from Major Mason's camp the commissioners agreed to purchase and give them some presents for their services, which they had been promised by Major Mason.

Fort Gibson July 11th, 1835. The Board met; Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Commissioners.

An Osage arrived this day on express from Major Mason's Camp. The Commissioners agreed to purchase and give him a few presents, which Major Mason promised him he should receive for his services. The Board appointed the 20th August for holding the treaty with the Western Indians at Camp Holmes near the Western border of the cross Timber in the Creek Nation, and requested General Arbuckle to direct Major Mason to notify the Prairie Indians to attend there at that time.

Fort Gibson July 17, 1835. The Board met; Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Commissioners.

The commissioners being without a Secretary they addressed a letter to Lieutenant W. Seawell[9] appointing him to that office.

Fort Gibson July 19th, 1835. The Board met; Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Com'rs., W. Seawell, Secretary.

General Arbuckle reported to the board that he had just received a letter from Major Mason informing him that one of the principal and most influencial chiefs of the Comanches had not yet arrived at his camp, but he was expected in a few days. The Board considered it proper that Mayor Mason should be immediately directed to endeavor to prevail upon this Principal Chief as soon as he arrives at his camp to bring

[8] Nowland was a merchant and trader who operated extensively at Fort Smith, Van Buren and Fort Gibson.

[9] Washington Seawell, was a lieutenant in the Seventh Infantry serving at Fort Gibson.

in the principal Chiefs and head men of his Nation, and also deputations from the different Western Nations or tribes to this Post for the purpose of holding a treaty.

Fort Gibson July 23d, 1835. The board met; Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Com'rs. W. Seawell, Secretary.

A party of Comanches consisting of eight men and seven women having arrived at this post last evening, the board agreed to purchase and present to them some pipes and Tobacco. There is one principal Chief among them.

Fort Gibson July 24, 1835. Board met; Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Com'rs. W. Seawell, Secretary.

This meeting of the Board was for the purpose of holding a talk with the Comanches who arrived on the evening of the 22d. The Comanches wished to know when the Commissioners intended meeting the Western Indians for the purpose of treating. —They begged for presents. —The Commissioners told them that the presents intended for their people would be taken to the treaty ground, and that after the Treaty they would receive their share, and not before, and that the treaty would take place at Camp Holmes on the 20th August. The Comanches replied, that if they waited until that time, they would not receive any of the presents, and earnestly begged that their share should be now given them. —The commissioners agreed to make them a small present, and purchased and presented to each a shirt, a handkerchief and some Tobacco, and told them that they would receive more after the Treaty.

Fort Gibson July 29, 1835. The Board met; Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Com'rs. W. Seawell, Secretary.

The board met for the purpose of commencing the purchase of presents for the Prairie indians; they considered it best to await the arrival of Major Armstrong one of the Commissioners who was hourly expected.

Fort Gibson July 30, 1835. The Board met; Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Com'rs. W. Seawell, Secretary.

The Board dicided to receive proposals for furnishing the presents for the Prairie Indians, and directed the Secretary to advertise for them until one o'clock P. M. of the first of next month. Employed Sergt. Dennenburg of the 7th Inf. to proceed to Washington County (A T) to hire wagons and teams to take the presents to the treaty ground.

Fort Gibson July 31, 1835. The board met; Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Com'rs. W. Seawell, Secretary.

The board were engaged in ascertaining the amount to be expended in presents for the Prairie Indians. —Paid Francois Beatte Thirty three dollars for his services as guide to Capt. Lee's command.

Fort Gibson Aug't. 1, 1835. The Board met; Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Com'rs. W. Seawell, Secretary.

The Board were this day engaged in receiving, and opening bids for purchasing presents for Indians, and examining the samples furnished. Bids for furnishing some of the presents were accepted.

Fort Gibson Aug't. 2d, 1835. The Board met; Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Com'rs. W. Seawell, Secretary.

The Board were imployed in purchasing presents to take to the treaty ground and employed Sergt. Stoutenburgh at fifteen dollars a month to attend to the receiving and safe keeping of them. —They received a letter from Major Armstrong accompanied by his attending Physicians certificate, stating that on account of his ill health, his life would be endanged if he accompanied them to the Treaty ground.

Fort Gibson Augt. 3, 1835. The Board met; Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Com'rs. W. Seawell, Secretary.

The board was employed in purchasing presents to take to the treaty ground. They addressed a letter to the Secretary of War informing him of the progress they were making; and also of the indisposition of Major Armstrong which would prevent his attending the treaty. They also replyed to Major Armstrongs letter which they received yesterday. —Purchased of S. Hill[10] presents amounting to thirteen hundred and ninety one dollars, and paid Sergt. Dennenburg three dollars for expences incured by him in employing wagons to take indian presents to the Treaty Ground.

Fort Gibson August 4, 1835. The Board met; Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Com'rs. W. Seawell, Secretary.

The Board directed the Secretary to write a letter to Major Chouteau requesting him to notify the different Osage Bands

[10] Seaborne Hill was another Indian trader at the Mouth of the Verdigris. In July 1844 he was killed at Fort Gibson by Captain Dawson.

in case they should have returned to their towns, that deputations from them were expected to attend the proposed treaty at Camp Holmes on the 20th inst., and also not to pay out the annuity to the Osage's until after the treaty, and to tell them so. (see the proceedings of the 5th of Augt. on the opposite page).

Fort Gibson August 5, 1835. The Board met; Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Com'rs. W. Seawell, Secretary.

The Commissioners this day gave three Checks on the Union Bank of Louisiana amounting in all to six thousand three hundred and eighty dollars, and sixty nine cents, one in favor of E. W. B. Nowland for One thousand six hundred and Sixty seven dollars, and sixty nine cents, one in favor of Willm. P. Tilton for three thousand and eighty one dollars and ninety four cents, and one in favor of Thos. E. Wilson[11] for one thousand five hundred and fifty Eight dollars and thirty nine cents. —These checks were given to pay off the accounts &c against the Commissioners for purchases of presents &c.

Fort Gibson August 6th, 1835. The Board met; Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Com'rs. W. Seawell, Secretary.

The Board agreed on leaving Fort Gibson this day for the Treaty ground at Camp Holmes.

Camp Holmes August 19, 1835. The Board met; Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Com'rs. W. Seawell, Secretary.

The Commissioners reached Camp Holmes this day[12] and assembled the Comanche and Witchetaw chiefs. They asked them where the principal Kioway chiefs were, and if they could not be had here in ten days. —They replied that the Kioway chiefs could not be got here in ten days, & that it was impossible to say when they could be got here. —That they were like wolves, so difficult were they to be found. The Commissioners asked them if any more of the Chiefs and principal men of their Nations were expected, and they replied "no" —They will not come here; they were here and staid a long time, but their children were starving, and they have gone for good, and will not return" —The Commissioners asked them if they were fully empowered to treat with the United States, and in case

[11] Wilson was a merchant and Indian trader at Fort Gibson.

[12] They were thus 13 days on the journey. It was very hot and a report came back to Fort Gibson that the venerable Governor Stokes, who was not well when he started, had died on the way.

of making a treaty, if all their people would consider themselves bound to observe it. —They replied, "Yes, We were left here for the purpose of making a treaty of Peace; Our nation wish to be at peace with every person. When we before left here, our people told us not to leave before you arrived, that they wanted to make a Treaty, and that they would all observe it. —The Kioway's will also agree to any Treaty we may make."—

Camp Holmes August 22, 1835. The Board met; Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Com'rs. W. Seawell, Secretary.

The Board having this day assembled in Council, the Chiefs, Warriors and representatives of the Comanche and Witchetaw Nations and their associated Bands or Tribes of Indians, and having introduced them to the Chiefs and Representatives of the Cherokee, Muscogee, Choctaw, Osage, Seneca and Quapaw Nations or Tribes of Indians, who were also assembled in council. The following speeches were made by the Commissioners, and interpreted to the Comanche, and Witchetaw Nations.

Speech of Governor Stokes.

Brothers of the Comanche and Witchetaw Nations—We are glad you have met us here. —It shows your confidence in your great Father who has invited you to make a treaty of peace, and friendship with the United States and with your red Brothers East of you. Brothers, your great father the President of the United States has nothing to ask of you, but to be at peace with the people of the United States and with the nations of Indians who have treaties of his people.—Brothers —The red chiefs who you see around you are friends of your great Father the President of the United States, and he has promised to cherish and protect them in all their just rights, and he most assuredly will fulfil this promise. Brothers, I have just risen from a bed of sickness, and will say no more at this time: My Brother here will speak with you, listen to him, we are both friends to you, and speak the word of your great Father.—

Speech of General M. Arbuckle.

Brothers, of the Comanche and Witchetaw Nations. The Commissioners are much gratified to see you here, with your minds prepared (as they believe) to make a permanent treaty

of peace with the United States, and with the different Nations of red people now present. —These Nations you have been informed are under the protection of the United States, and your great father the President of the United States, desires to place his arms around you, and to do good to your Nations, by preventing your people from being destroyed by Wars. —He has promised peace to the Nations of red people he has heretofore made treaties with, and the representatives of six of those nations are now present. Peace is all your great Father asks of you, and he well knows that your own good requires that you should be at peace with all Nations, both white and red. He has promised to the Nations of red people who have made treaties with him protection, and he will not permit them or his white children to be injured by any nation whatever. —The Treaty which will be offered to you for your consideration, and also for the approval of all the red Nations present, you are to understand is to be permanent, and to last forever, and we desire that you will think well on this subject, so that all that is contained in the Treaty you may sign, may be well received by your nations, and that you will not agree to any thing which you will not cause your people to strictly comply with. We have prepared a Treaty which we believe will best secure peace between your nations and the United States, and between your people and the red nations now present. The Treaty will now be read, and explained to you, and to all the Nations of red people at this place, that you and they may take it into consideration and apprize the Commissioners of your approval of it, as now offered, or of any alterations you or any Nation may desire to make. We have repeatedly informed you that your great Father has not sent us here to ask of you anything except what is necessary for your own good; —as this is the first opportunity he has had of making a Treaty of peace with your nations, and between your people, and the red nations now present, who are his friends, and as he is informed that your nations are poor, he has authorized us to give to them some presents after the Treaty which may be agreed on, is signed, as an evidence of his good will towards them, and of his sincere desire to benefit your people."—

The Board read and caused to be interpreted to the Comanche and Witchetaw Nations, and their associated Bands or Tribes of Indians the Articles of the treaty they wish them to enter into with the United States of America, and the Chero-

kee, Muscogee, Choctaw, Osage, Seneca, and Quapaw nations, or Tribes of Indians, and directed the Secretary to furnish a copy of these articles to each of the nations present. The following are the Articles of the proposed Treaty.

Article 1st. There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between all the citizens of the United of America and all the individuals composing the Comanche and Witchetaw nations and their associated Bands or Tribes of Indians, and between these nations or Tribes, and the Cherokee, Muscogee, Choctaw, Osage, Seneca and Quapaw Nations or Tribes of Indians.

Article 2d. Every injury or act of hostility by one or either of the contracting parties on the other, shall be mutually forgiven and forever forgot.

Article 3d. There shall be a free and friendly intercourse between all the contracting parties hereto, and it is distinctly understood and agreed by the Comanche, and Witchetaw Nations and their associated Bands or Tribes of Indians, that the citizens of the United States, are freely permitted to pass and repass through their settlements or hunting ground without molestation, or injury on their way to any of the Provinces of the Republic of Mexico, or returning therefrom, and that each of the nations or Tribes named in this article further agree to pay the full value of any injury their people may do to the good's or property of the Citizens of the United States, taken or destroyed, when peacably passing through the Country they inhabit, or hunt in or else where. —and the United States hereby guarantee to any indian or indians of either of the said Comanche or Witchetaw Nations, and their associated Bands or Tribes of Indians a full indemnification for any Horses or other property which may be stolen from them provided that the property so stolen cannot be recovered, and that sufficient proof is produced that it was actually stolen by the Citizens of the United States, and within the limits thereof.

Article 4th. It is understood and agreed by all the nations or tribes of Indians, parties to this treaty, that each and all of the said nations or tribes have free permission to hunt and trap in the great Western Prairie, West of the cross Timber, to the Western limits of the United States.

Article 5th. The Comanche and Witchetaw Nations and their associated Bands or tribes of Indians severally agree and

mind themselves to pay full value for any injury their people may do to the goods, or other property of such traders as the President of the United States may place near to their settlements or hunting ground for the purpose of trading with them.

Article 6th. Comanche and Witchetaw nations and their associated Bands or Tribes of Indians, agree that in the event of any of the red people belonging to the Nations or tribes of indians residing South of the Missouri River and West of the State of Missouri, not parties to this Treaty, should visit their towns, or found on their hunting grounds, that they will treat them with kindness and friendship, and do no injury to them whatever.

Article 7th. Should any difficulty hereafter unfortunately arrise between any of the nations or Tribes of Indians parties hereunto, in consiquence of the stealing of Horses, Cattle; or other cause, it is agreed that the other Tribes shall interpose their good offices to remove such difficulties, and also that the Government of the United States may take such measures as they may deem proper to effect the same object, and see that full justice is done to the injured party.

Article 8th. It is agreed by the Commissioners of the United States, that in consiquence of the Comanche and Witchetaw nations, and their associated Bands or Tribes of Indians having freely and willingly entered into this treaty, and it being the first they have made with the United States, or any of the contracting parties; that they shall receive presents immediately after signing as a donation from the United States; nothing being asked from these nations or tribes in return, except to remain at peace with the parties hereto, which their own good, and that of their posterity require.

Article 9th. The Comanche and Witchetaw nations, and their associated Bands, or tribes of Indians, agree that their entering into this treaty, shall in no respect interupt their friendly relations with the Republic of Mexico, where they all frequently hunt, and the Comanche nation principally inhabit; and it is distinctly understood that the Government of the United States desire that perfect peace shall exist between the tribes or nations named in this article and the said Republic.

Article 10th. This Treaty shall be obligatory on the nations or Tribes, parties hereto, from and after the date here-

of, and on the United States from and after its ratification by the Government thereof.

The commissioners this day received a letter from Col. A. P. Chouteau reporting the ill health of his brother Major Chouteau[13] the Osage sub. agent, at whose request he informed them that Clermont the principal Osage Chief had reported sick, and that Clermonts brother a young chief, had promised, that he and La Fou would meet the Commissioners at the treaty ground at the time appointed for holding the Treaty with the Prairie indians if Clermont would not. This letter was handed to the Commissioners by Clermont's brother (the young chief) who reported that La Fore was at his Town and would not come with him, nor would he be here during the Council.

The Commissioners did not meet yesterday in Council, as they had agreed in consequence of bad weather.

Camp Holmes August 23d, 1835. The Board met; Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Com'rs. W. Seawell, Secretary.

The Cherokee, Muscogee, Seneca, and Quapaw Nations proposed to amend the seventh Article of the proposed Treaty, so as to read, "thus —"Should any difficulty hereafter unfortunately arise between any of the nations or Tribes of Indians parties hereunto, in consequence of *murder* the stealing of Horses &c —The Comanche Witchetaw and Osage Nations agreeing to the proposed amendment, and the board not objecting thereto, the amendment of the 7th Article was adopted.

The following speeches were made by the Comanche and Witchetaw Chiefs.

Speech of Kosharoka the 2d Witchetaw Chief.

I have seen that paper twice. I have had it read twice, and I know it all. The great Spirit is a witness that we are all shaking hands this day. That paper was read to us twice and we like it all except one Article. To that Article even the children of our Towns will object —I am well satisfied with all except that one. The Spaniards have attacked us three times. They have killed three of my Children, and two of my Warriors. In my country there is a place we trade, and all that has passed here we will then tell our people. There are the Osages I have shaken hands with them, and I intend hold-

[13] Paul Liqueste Chouteau wrote a number of interesting accounts of the Prairie Indians.

ing them fast by the hand. There is one thing I have to ask of you. I do not want any one to settle here. If they do they will drive off the game, and this is the only place we have to come for it. I am very glad you have come here. I am very glad you have something to give us. We are very poor, and it will be a great help to our Nation. The great Spirit heard that you have some presents for us, and as soon as we get them we want to go. —The Commissioners stated to the Comanches and Witchetaws that the article of the treaty alluded to by the Kos kor oke did not bind them to keep peace with the republic of Mexico. —it was only the wish of their great Father. The Comanches and Witchetaws asked if by going to War with the Spaniards the Americans would make war on them. The Commissioners told them no.

The Speech of Koustowah the first chief of the Witchetaws.

"It is the word of the great Father that we all shake hands this day. It makes me happy to see it. —This day the great spirit sees me shaking hands with all these chiefs, and all these friends here. —I can ask no more. —All these Brothers hear me talking, and I am satisfied. I have always been very poor until this day, but it appears that my great Father is going to take pity on me. I have heard you talk this day; what else can I ask. When I go home I will tell my people all I have heard, and you will hear no more bad from my nation. The Chiefs never speak for nothing. —I never speak for nothing, and when I go home, you will hear nothing about stealing, or anything bad from my people. There are some of my red brothers who talk of going home with me, and if they do, not one of my people will touch the least thing they have. I can ask no more. My Great Father is taking pity on us, and intends making some presents. The Great Father has taken pity on us this day. He has made us friends with all these our red brothers, and we will hold them fast in our arms. Not only these people will we hold fast by the hand, but the Comanches that we now are at peace with. I have lived like a Wolf for a long time. I have been running from one place to another. Now when I go home, I mean to move down to my Old Town, the place where I was born. I want to move down because I am too far out of the way, and I want to be close by, so as I can visit you as my neighbours, as there will not be any more danger in travelling these Prairies after this day. It appears that the Great Spirit has taken pity on us this day,

and is the cause of my seeing and shaking hands with these people here now.

Speech of Ichacoly the first Chief of the Comanches.

I will tell you the same thing that I have told you before. I am the only head chief of my nation. I have been waiting here for you a long time, and when you have done with me I will go. When my people all started away from here I told them I intended waiting for the Commissioners. They all wished nothing but peace, and friendship, and I have staid here to represent them all. —What more can I ask, than to be at peace with my red Brothers. It was your wish, and that of my Great Father, that I have staid here a long time, and I wish you to give me something. Being sick I cannot talk more. Half of my body belongs to the Osages and half to the Comanches and all the rest I will hold close to my heart.

The Commissioners this day received a letter from John Rogers one of the Cherokee councellors informing them that David Melton, John Brown and Dutch had been appointed to represent the Cherokee Nation at the proposed Treaty with the Prairie indians. The Commissioners drew a check on the Union Bank of Louisiana in favor of Thomas B. Ballard for four hundred and twenty dollars being the amount due him in full for the hire of his wagons and teams employed in transporting Indian presents from Fort Gibson to Camp Holmes.

Camp Holmes August 24, 1835. The Board met; Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Commissioners. W. Seawell, Secretary.

The Board was this day occupied in obtaining the signatures of the chiefs and representatives of the Comanche, Witchetaw, Cherokee, Muscogee, Choctaw, Osage, Seneca and Quapaw Nations or Tribes of Indians.

Camp Holmes August 25th, 1835. The Board met; Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Commissioners. W. Seawell, Secretary.

The following speeches were made to the Comanches and Witchetaw Nations.

Speech of Roley McIntosh first chief of Muscogee Nation.

Brothers, we have met today in this Prairia and at this hour. I am glad to meet you. We are all of one colour. Bro-

thers, we once lived in a Country East of this. We broke the bushes out of the way, cleared the road and we now live in this country. —When we reached our new homes we heard of you in the West. We heard of your way of living. Our forefathers used to live in the same way. —We now live differently. We live in peace, and our Children grow up to live in peace. This is the way we all should live. When I first came to the West I heard of your way of living. I heard of your killing each other, and I was sorry, all my people were sorry. The Osages used to live so, but we now are friends, and I hope we all will be so. Here is our little father, the white man, he has raised us, he is the cause of our making peace. He has done us much good. We the Muscogees give you these white beads. They are the emblem of peace. Our people will now travel the road from one town to another. They will be open and clear. With all the different people we have made peace, we have made roads to their houses. We will now extend these roads to your towns. I would talk more to you now, but all I say has to be interpreted into so many languages that I will not say more. I wish the treaty we have made may be faithfully observed, and that our children may sleep in their cradles in safety. Brothers, We have now established the road for us all. Some of my people are going home with you, and when they return, I hope they will bring us a favorable account. I give you this Tobacco. When you go home, I want all your Warriors to smoke of it, and when the white smoke ascends, altho I shall be at home and not see it, it will be the same as if I was present. These white beads are the emblem of peace, when you go home you must let all your people draw them through their hands. It will be the same as if I was shaking hands with them.

Roley McIntosh gave the Tobacco and white beads to the first chiefs of the Comanche and Witchetaw Nations.

Speech of Musha-la-Tabbee Chief of the Choctaw Nation.

The Great Spirit above has appointed a fine day for us to meet each other. We now look at each other in the face. —We saw each other once before at Fort Gibson. You know it I suppose. We now see each other again, and have an opportunity of talking together. We are called Choctaws, we have our Towns too; we live in houses. I have now an opportunity of seeing our brothers who live in the West. We have entered into a friendly agreement and I am glad of it. The talk we

have had with each other I like, it is a good one. I hope there will be no more killing of each other. If there be any killing, let it be by the falling of the limbs of trees. Our peace has been made through the agency of our White Father. When our Great Father hears of it, It will make his heart rejoice. We have now established the white road to your towns. Here is some Tobacco. When you go home you must smoke of it, and when the white smoke ascends, although I shall be at home, and will not see it, it will be the same as if I was with you. When you smoke that, and the smoke ascends you must think I see you.

Speech of Shaw-ta-sah-bah or Black Dog head warrior of Tak-ha-la's band of Osages.

My Father, I am only going to say a few words —Who is the cause that we are this day talking together? It is the word of our Great Father the President. I have shaken hands with you before this day. Look at all my brothers here. —My great Father is the cause that I have shaken hands with them. It is the great Fathers word that we are all moving to this country. It is the Great Fathers word that the other side of us is full of white people. That is better than what we are doing. The acts we used to do we put aside now, and I expect you do also. Once I did not speak to any of these here, but I am now friendly with them all, and our Great Father is the cause of it. Our Fathers wants to have a big open road, and it is my wish that we should have one between your Country and mine. When he hears we have shaken hands, do you think that he will be mad? No —He will be glad. This is all I have to say.

Speech of Thoms. Brant chief of the Seneca Nation.

My Friends and Brothers, We have often heard of you, —you live far to the West, and we to the East, we are glad to see you. — Here are my friends the Creeks, Choctaws and Osages. They all have given you good talk, we are like friends and Brothers. We are of the six Nations of Seneca's —We are glad to see you. My Friends and Brothers, The other Indians have given you good talk for us all, our wives and our children, all of my red brothers have given you good talk. We have made a White road from your towns to ours, and we and all our people will travel it without danger. My Friends and Brothers, our young warriors travel much, they

travel through the Cherokee, Muscogee, Choctaw, Osage and Quapaw Nations, and to all their houses. They are my friends. The road is a good white one, and when they travel it, there is no danger. When they travel to your towns, I hope they will also be safe. My Friends and Brothers, we must have one heart and not two, we must all think alike. My Friends and Brothers, this is the first time you have heard the talk of the Six Nations of Seneca's. They have given you good talk, and they hope you will listen to it. Here are your red Brothers we have all made peace. Do not break it. We want to raise all our children in peace. My Friends and Brothers, this talk I have given you, is from all my people. They told me to give it —It is also from our women and children. My talk is for all your Nations and tribes. Here is some Tobacco, when you get home, let all your people smoke of it, and when they do, they must think of us. This is all your Brothers, the Seneca's have to say.

Speech of He-Ka-too Chief of the Quapaw Nation.

My Fathers. I have not much to say. I am going to say a few words to these people.

My Brothers, I was living away off below to myself, but by the word of my Great Father, I dont live far now. My Old Brothers, the Muscogees, Choctaws, Osages and Seneca's have given you good talk. I not give you any other, but will follow on their road. I wish you to consider me following on their tracks all the time. There are but few of my people. My Brothers, the Muscogees, Choctaws, Osages and Seneca's have made you a white road, and have given you beads. There must not be any blood on that road unless it be the blood of the Buffalo. —My Brothers, the Muscogee's, Choctaw's, Osage's and Seneca's have given you good talk. I can't give you any other. That is all I have to say.

Camp Holmes August 26, 1835. The Board met: Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Com'rs. W. Seawell, Secretary.

The Commissioners were this day employed in distributing presents to the Comanche's and Witchetaw Nations.

Camp Holmes August 27, 1835. The Board met: Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Com'rs. W. Seawell, Secretary.

The Commissioners agreed to leave Camp Holmes this afternoon for Fort Gibson. They settled with Ascimke for the

sum of One hundred and nineteen dollars being the amount due her for her services as interpreter of the Comanche and Witchetaw languages. Oscimka having recd. a horse on the 16th of May from the Commissioners for which Sixty five dollars as paid; the ballance of her account amounting to fifty four dollars was paid her in goods.

Fort Gibson September 13, 1835. The Board met: Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Commissioners. W. Seawell, Secretary.

The Commissioners drew a check on the Union Bank of Louisiana in favor of Thoms. B. Ballard for four hundred and Eighty Six dollars. This check includes the one given Mr. Ballard at Camp Holmes on the 23d August for four hundred and twenty dollars, which he returned to the Commissioners and was destroyed, and also his accounts against the Commissioners for the hire of his wagons and teams, employed in transporting presents from Fort Gibson to Camp Holmes and for services rendered by him.

Fort Gibson September 15th, 1835. The Board met: Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Com'rs. W. Seawell, Secretary.

The Commissioners wrote a letter to the Secretary of War informing him of their return to Fort Gibson from Camp Holmes and enclosed him a copy of the treaty which they concluded with the Comanchee and Witcheta Indians at Camp Holmes on the 24th August.

Fort Gibson September 20th, 1835. The Board met: Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Com'rs. W. Seawell, Secry.

This meeting of the board was for the purpose of settling with Col. A. P. Chouteau on account of his services as interpreter of the Osage language, amounting to four hundred and eleven dollars, and also with Sergt. Stoutenburg for services rendered by him in receiving and taking care of Indian presents, amounting to twenty one dollars. —Both of these accts. were paid; and the Commissioners drew a check on the Union Bank of Louisiana in favor of Thoms. E. Wilson for four hundred and Thirty Eight dollars and twenty five cents for that purpose, and also for the purpose of paying Thoms. E. Wilson's acct. against the Commissioners for six dollars and twenty five cents.

Fort Gibson 21 September 1835. The Board met: Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Com'rs. W. Seawell, Secretary.

The Commissioners recd. of Thoms. E. Wilson the following checks drawn by them on the Union Bank of Louisiana viz; One in favor of Thoms. E. Wilson for One Thousand five hundred and fifty eight dollars and thirty nine cents given on the 5th of August. One in favor of Thoms. B. Ballard for four hundred and eighty six dollars given on the 13th of Sept. and one in favor of Thoms. E. Wilson four hundred and thirty Eight dollars and twenty five cents given on the 20th of Sept. These Checks were all destroyed and in lieu of them the Commissioners drew one on the Union Bank of Louisiana in favor of Thomas E. Wilson for Two Thousand Nine hundred and Sixty three dollars and twenty three and 3/4 cents which includes all the drafts destroyed as aforesaid, and also the sum of four hundred and Eighty dollars and twenty two and 3/4 cents furnished by Mr. Wilson and paid over to Lieut. Kenney for provisions furnished Indians during the Treaty.

Fort Gibson 23 September 1835. The Board met: Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Commissioners. W. Seawell, Secretary.

The Commissioners wrote a letter to the Secretary of War inclosing him their accounts &c for all disbursements and expenditures made by them from the 4th May to the 22d. of September 1835.

Fort Gibson 26 Sep: 1835. The Board Met: Present: M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle, Commis'rs. W. Seawell, Secretary.

The Board decided to send Lieut. W. Seawell to Washington City with the Original Treaty and a transcript of all the proceedings of the Board up to the present date, and they were forwarded accordingly.

M. Stokes.

M. Arbuckle.

W. Seawell Lieut. 7th Infantry

Secretary to the Commissioners.

CHIEF WILSON NATHANIEL JONES.

by
John Bartlett Meserve.

De Toqueville, the eminent French statesman and scholar visited the United States in 1831 studying our political institutions and in 1835 his famous work, *Democracy in America,* was first published in Paris. He was in Memphis, Tennessee, and witnessed an early detachment of emigrating Choctaws embark for the West and left for us his painful impressions:

[1] "At the end of the year 1831, whilst I was on the left bank of the Mississippi at a place named by Europeans Memphis, there arrived a numerous band of Choctaws (or Chactas as they are called by the French of Louisiana).

Those savages had left their country, and were endeavoring to gain the right bank of the Mississippi, where they hoped to find an asylum which had been promised them by the American Government. It was then the middle of winter and the cold was unusually severe; the snow had frozen hard upon the ground, and the river was drifting huge masses of ice. The Indians had their families with them; and they brought in their train the wounded and the sick, with children newly born and old men upon the verge of death. They possessed neither tents nor waggons, but only their arms and provisions. I saw them embark to pass the mighty river, and never will that solemn spectacle fade from my remembrance. No cry, no sob was heard amongst the assembled crowd; all was silent. Their calamities were of ancient date, and they knew them to be irremediable."

The illustrious French economist preserves for us a contemporary picture of those simple, disheartened folk, the red natives of our soil as they were being thrown, with apparent abandon, over the garden wall into unexplored jungles, to survive or perish amid the weeds and vices of a misdirected civilization. How admirably they surmounted their difficulties

[1] *Democracy In America,* by De Toqueville, Vol. I, p. 345.

is a matter of their history. The parents of Wilson Nathaniel Jones were among the solemn Choctaw exiles who crossed the "mighty river" during the decade succeeding the Dancing Rabbit Creek Treaty of 1830.

Captain Nathaniel Jones, a mixed blood Choctaw Indian whose father was a Virginian by birth, lived on the Pearl River in Greenwood Le Flore District, Mississippi. He married into the famous Battiest family of French-Choctaw origin and, with his family, came with one of the Choctaw removal caravans to the old Indian Territory in 1833 and settled on the Little River in what is today McCurtain County, Oklahoma. The captain was a character of some prominence and served as an "annuity captain" in charge of the distribution of Government payments among the Choctaws and also as a member of the Choctaw National Council in the years when it met at the old capital at Nanih Waya, near the present town of Tuskahoma, Pushmataha County, Oklahoma. He died, probably in the decade preceding the Civil War.

[2] Wilson Nathaniel Jones, the youngest son of Capt. Nathaniel Jones, was born in the old Greenwood Le Flore District in Mississippi about 1827 [3] and came with his parents to the West in 1833. His educational advantages were very limited and in 1849 he embarked in farming for himself upon lands in the Little river country. He rendered no service, either military or otherwise, in either the Union or Confederate cause during the Civil War. After the Civil War, having accumulated five hundred dollars by the sweat of his own brow and frugal habits, he located on Shawnee creek in the eastern part of what is today Bryan County, but which was then Blue County, Choctaw Nation, where he engaged in farming and later opened a mercantile establishment.[4] This location, some

[2] *Leaders and Leading Men in the Indian Territory*, by O'Beirne, Vol. I, p. 28 et seq.

[3] Computed from the inscription upon his memorial above his grave, which gives his age as 74 years at the time of his death. Other biographies give 1831 as the year of his birth.

[4] These early mercantile stores were general stores and carried everything from drugs to farming implements.

three miles west of the present inland town of Cade, became the center of his future business activities. Money was a very limited commodity among the Choctaws during those years and the young merchant conveniently accepted stock in exchange for his merchandise. This situation became the inspiration for his more extended entry into the cattle business which was at that time beginning to overshadow the economic life of the country. The career of Wilson N. Jones bids invitation to an interesting period in the life of the old Indian Territory.

The two decades immediately succeeding the Civil War witnessed the cycle of the gigantic cattle industry upon the vast, unoccupied prairies of the Southwest. They were years of notorious vice, of which it is of no avail to speak in undertones. The era was feudalistic in its analogy as we cross the threshold of romance, adventure, and sordid tragedy. Self-constituted authority appropriated the open ranges and cattle barons lived in medieval comfort surrounded by armed retinues, not all of whom drove the bawling herds. Jealousies were provoked as the use of the range was disputed by armed competitors. Cattle rustlers darkened the picture, feuds were engendered among the cattle men and cool, calculating murder was not uncommon. Each cowman made and enforced his own regulations for his occupancy of the open range and their enforcement became a source of real and potential trouble. A careless practice of branding the wrong calves was also provocative. The picture is further emphasized by the cow towns which sprang into being along the trails. These hastily assembled settlements were fashioned to accommodate the sordid impulses of the hour. Even hitherto quiet, peaceful, rural towns found themselves overshadowed by a new life. Whiskey was plentiful, gambling, open and notorious, dance halls and honkytonk theaters were the social centers and the red lights lingered to glimpse the dawn. The old Indian Territory, as then constituted, was in the very heart of this hectic life as across its domain passed the cattle trails from Texas north to shipping points in Kansas. Its influence was demoralizing to

the Indians as it brought them in contact with vile characters among the whites and greatly impeded their progress.

The town of Caddo, situated in what is today the northern part of Bryan County, Oklahoma, was, at that time the principal settlement between McAlester and the Red River and in the center of a rich cattle grazing area. After the M. K. & T. Railway came through in 1872, it became the shipping point to eastern markets for cattle from the adjacent ranges of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations. At Caddo, Government supplies were unloaded and freighted overland to Ft. Sill and other western military posts. The busy little town became the rendezvous for cattle men and yielding to its environments probably ran true to form. It could not boast of open saloons because the Government looked after that, but there was plenty of bootleg alcoholics in evidence; and besides, Garrett's Bluff ferry across the Red River near the mouth of the Blue, was not far away and Texas, a white man's country, lay just beyond.

The cattle business of Wilson N. Jones developed rapidly and, in 1867, he associated with a partner by the name of James Myers. In four years of diligent effort the partnership accumulated a herd of one thousand head of cattle which Myers drove overland to the cattle market at Ft. Scott, Kansas. Myers sold the cattle, pocketed the receipts and faded from the picture. Jones not only lost his share of the proceeds but was left with the firm's indebtedness to liquidate. He soon recouped his losses and in a few years was once more on the high road to success. After the M. K. & T. Railway came through in 1872, he enlarged his mercantile business on Shawnee creek and began to diversify his interests. About this time he became the financial sponsor for B. J. Hampton and L. A. Morris who engaged in a business enterprise at Caddo, the venture being carried on in his name. The business failed in 1882 through mismanagement and Jones was left to satisfy St. Louis wholesale creditors in the sum of twenty thousand dollars. He became involved in litigation over the affair, out of which grew

Home of Wilson N. Jones near Cade, Bryan County, Oklahoma

the case of Jones v. Baer et al.,[5] in the United States Supreme Court, in which a memorandum opinion was noted. This case was the first case to be filed in the first Federal Court established in the old Indian Territory and which opened at Muskogee on April 1, 1889 with Judge James M. Shackleford on the bench. Jones was represented at the trial by Judge S. S. Fears and in the Supreme Court by Hon. Augustus H. Garland. The case went against Jones in both courts, the action of the Supreme Court being divided.

The shrewdness and business acumen of Wilson N. Jones began to evidence itself and by 1890 he was reputed to be among the wealthiest men in the Territory. At that time he had seventeen thousand acres[6] of Choctaw lands under fence in the area between Caddo and Boggy river, about five hundred and fifty acres of which were under cultivation. His herd of some five thousand head of cattle ranged the pasture lands. He was the Indian cattle king of the Territory. The other interests of Mr. Jones included his enlarged mercantile store and a cotton gin as well as other investments in the coal business then rapidly developing along the M. K. & T. Railway in the Territory. He was a co-partner with W. H. Ainsworth in a large mercantile establishment at Caddo. The employees upon his ranch were mostly full blood Indians, few negroes were used and no whites, save in the cotton gin, were employed. He was very popular with his employees. His "home on the range," some three miles west of Cade, on Shawnee Creek, was among the most comfortable in the Territory at that time and was one of great hospitality. During this period he exerted a strong influence in the political life of the Choctaw Nation and served as school trustee of his district in 1884 and, in 1887, became the National Treasurer. He was allied with the powerful McCurtain faction during those earlier years. Wilson N. Jones rode the higher altitudes of prosperity.

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[5] 37 L. C. P. 947; 149 U. S. 777.

[6] This was in the face of Choctaw law which prohibited the fencing of more than 1,000 acres by any one citizen.

The road to fame and fortune was marked with tragedy. Things began to happen which reflect an age of lawlessness which defies prosaic description. [7]William W. Jones, the only son of Wilson N. Jones, was born in the Little river country in 1860, attended school at Booneville, Bolivar and Springfield, Missouri, and upon his return home in 1883 became a foreman upon his father's ranch near Caddo. He was a lovable character but strong drink, to which the young man became an early addict, provoked a reckless career which was terminated only by his tragic death. William Jones or "Willie" as he was known, became involved in a course of very questionable conduct for which there remains no complete explanation or justification. Late in the afternoon of September 18, 1885, Willie Jones and his friend Madison Bouton[8] strolled up the Main Street of Caddo in agreeable conversation when suddenly and without warning, young Jones drew his sixshooter and shot and killed Bouton, after which he mounted his pony and rode back to the ranch. Madison Bouton was an intermarried Choctaw, born in Roxbourgh, New York, in January, 1839, came to the Choctaw Nation in 1870 and two years later married Christiana, a daughter of Israel Fulsom, a Choctaw. He was quite extensively engaged in the cattle business at the time of his unfortunate death. He, necessarily, was a rival of Wilson N. Jones in the use of the open range of that section. No provocation has ever been assigned for this cold blooded killing although there were whisperings that the wrong calves had been branded by employees on the Jones ranch, to which Bouton had objected. About this time, at the meager settlement of Mayhew and in the proximity of the Jones ranch, an intermarried Choctaw by the name of Alex Powell was also in the cattle business in a modest way and, obviously, his operations conflicted with Jones in the use of the open range. Powell opened a small store and from his exchange of merchandise with the Indians, began to assemble a rather promising herd

[7] *Leaders and Leading Men*, by O'Beirne, Vol. I, p. 130.
[8] *Leaders and Leading Men*, by O'Beirne, Vol. I, p. 49.

of range cattle. As an accommodation for any night visitors to his store, he placed a bell in the yard which might be used by any belated customers, whom he hastened to serve when the bell was rung. Two shots burst forth in the dark, one night when Powell opened his door in response to the bell. He survived long enough to identify Willie Jones and Steve Belvin as his assailants. Belvin was a "lieutenant" or scout on the cattle ranch of Wilson N. Jones, and later became sheriff of Jackson County, Choctaw Nation, succeeding Josh Crowder. No excuse or justification has ever been offered for the murder of Alex Powell. At another time, Belvin made an unsuccessful attempt to shoot L. A. Morris, a clerk in the Hancock store at Caddo. Morris, it will be recalled, was one of the partners whose business failure in 1882 had occasioned the heavy financial losses to Wilson N. Jones. Morris became blind in the latter years of his life and died at Atoka a few years ago. No effort seems to have been made by the Choctaw Nation authorities to apprehend and punish either young Jones or Steve Belvin for these outrages. There were no ten commandments around Caddo in those days—mostly rules of the jungles.

Grim fate arrested the hectic career of Willie Jones on the night of January 26, 1888. The young man and a party of friends consisting of Tuck and Chris Bench and Josh Crowder, who was then sheriff of Jackson County, were engaged in a drunken carousal, near Garrett's Bluff on the Red River. The party was badly intoxicated, save Tuck Bench, and as the supply of whiskey became exhausted, they crossed on the ferry into Texas to replenish their supply. The party became belligerent and particularly young Jones and in the melee which ensued after their return to the Nation, Tuck Bench, in anticipation of drunken threats made by Jones, shot and killed him. Sheriff Crowder, half crazed with drink, witnessed the tragedy and is reputed to have offered no interference and the bullet-riddled body of the only son and heir of Wilson N. Jones was found upon a sand bar on the Choctaw Nation side of Red River, near Garrett's Bluff, the next morning. Tuck Bench

fled the country to Northern Arkansas and did not return to the Choctaw country until after the death of Wilson N. Jones. A feud devolped between the Jones and Crowder factions. For some days after the killing, Crowder and Chris Bench went into hiding. The three men were indicted in the Choctaw district court which convened at its court house in the forks of the Boggies north of Boswell. Tuck Bench was never apprehended but Wilson N. Jones employed Green McCurtain to aid in the prosecution of Chris Bench and Josh Crowder. They were defended by Hon. William A. Durant. Chris Bench was always in attendance when the case was called but was never tried. Crowder never showed up for trial, and although his bond was repeatedly forfeited he experienced little difficulty in giving a new bond, because there was no procedure in the Choctaw Nation at that time which enabled a collection to be made upon a forfeited undertaking and so his case was postponed from term to term.

Some years later Josh Crowder and a companion were out trapping near Shawneetown on the Red River in what is today McCurtain County, when they were waylaid and killed by some negroes. The negroes later were convicted in the Federal Court at Atoka and sent to the penitentiary for life. The prosecution of Chris Bench seems to have been abandoned. Willie Jones married Emelia, a daughter of James McCauley of Atoka, in 1887. His only son and child, Wilson Nathan, grew to manhood only to meet an unfortunate death at Oklahoma City in 1916 and the tragic story of Willie Jones was ended.[9]

Wilson N. Jones made the race for chief of the Choctaws in the fall of 1888 on the Progressive ticket and, although he had the support of the McCurtain faction, was defeated by B. F. Smallwood of the National party. The campaign was spirited but not as bitter as was the campaign of 1890 when Jones defeated Smallwood for reelection by a small majority. The cam-

[9] The writer is indebted to C. A. Hancock of Caddo and Hon. W. A. Durant of Oklahoma City for much valuable information.

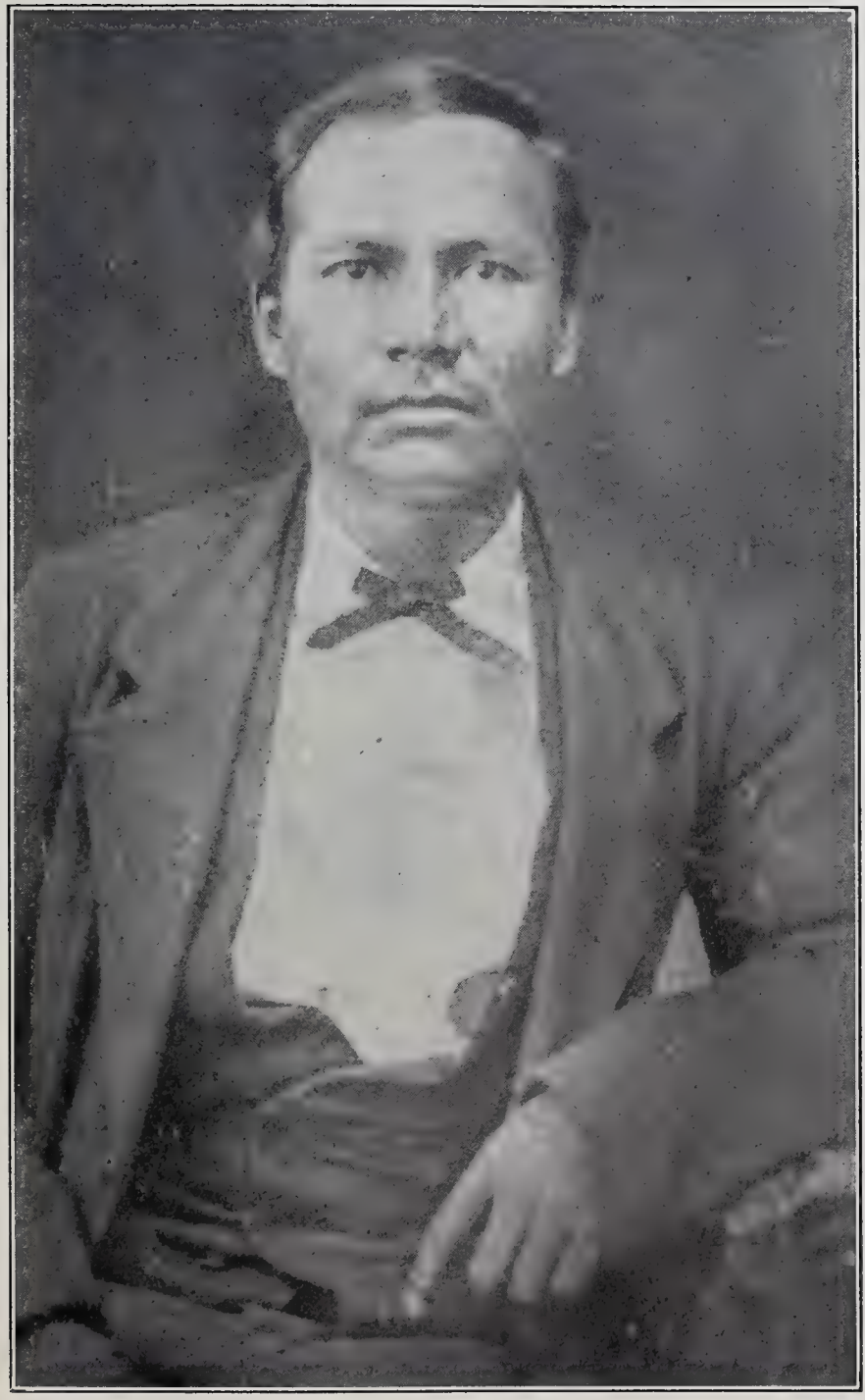
paign of 1892 when Jones ran for reelection on the Progressive ticket was the occasion for the most serious disorder that ever occurred in the Choctaw Nation. His opponent was Jacob B. Jackson, the candidate of the National party. The contest approached the status of a guerilla warfare as armed bands of the opposing factions pursued a course of intimidation. Many assassinations occurred and life became unsafe. The standard of political ethics sank to the lowest in the history of the Choctaw Nation. Feeling ran high, the newspapers became vituperative and from the press, one would have thought that the Choctaws were on the road to complete political and social disintegration. In the parlance of the times, both factions were claiming the open range. The interest of the politicians was intensified because of the Leased Land payment which was soon to be made. The result of the election was close and both sides claimed the victory. Both sides were vociferous in claiming that fraud had been committed by the opposition which was an evidence that the Indian was "coming of age." Indian Agent Bennett stepped into the picture in an effort to compose the differences and Jackson offered to submit all contested election returns to the Indian Agent but this offer, Jones declined, and for obvious reasons. The controversy was disposed of by the Council, both houses of which were overwhelmingly of the Progressive party, on October 6, when it declared the reelection of Jones by a narrow margin of seven votes out of a total of 3402 cast. The chief was again entrenched in undisputed possession of the open range. An interrogation point has ever followed this partisan declaration of the Council.

An aftermath of the bitter controversy came in the following December when the so-called Jones-Locke or Antlers war broke out. One Willis Jones was forcibly taken from the Choctaw authorities by Jones's opponents and removed to the home of V. M. Locke, an intermarried white man living at Antlers, where members of the National faction gathered to protect him. Chief Jones assembled the militia at Antlers and as the Locke supporters continued to assemble, an armed conflict seemed

unavoidable. A clash did come late in March, primarily provoked by bad whiskey among the members of the militia and much shooting was done but nobody was killed or seriously injured. The windows were shot out of the Baptist Church and the Masonic hall. Jacob B. Jackson belonged to both organizations. It was a sort of comic opera affair but dizzy enough to enlist the attention of Indian Agent Bennett who again hastened to the scene of the trouble. A small detachment of United States troops was dispatched to the front where they were welcomed by both sides. The soldiers remained a few weeks and then "marched down the hill again." The Government at Washington was becoming annoyed by the disorderly posture of affairs among the Choctaws and a delegation headed by Green McCurtain was dispatched to the capital to cushion over the Antlers insurrection. Congress created the Dawes Commission on March 3, 1893 and so government of the Indians, for the Indians and by the Indians was soon to become a pathetic memory.

The story of Wilson N. Jones and particularly of the campaign of 1892, invites a more intimate acquaintance with Jacob Battiest Jackson,[10] his political opponent. The two men were quite the antithesis of each other. As Jackson's career is followed, one is enabled to debunk many of the things said and written about the full blood Indian. He was a member of a band of Indians known as the Sixtown Indians who were adopted into the Choctaw Nation. They were originally known as the Bay Indians and lived in southern Mississippi. There were at one time about three thousand members of this tribe, and there existed, at an early date, much prejudice between this band and the real Choctaws. Jackson was a full blood Indian, was born in southern Mississippi about 1848 and came to the Choctaw Nation in the West in 1850. He was of pious Christian parentage, they being members of the Baptist Church. Holbatubbee, his father, died during the removal journey and Elizabeth Jackson, his mother, died in 1864 in Cedar County,

[10]*Leaders and Leading Men,* by O'Beirne, Vol. I, p. 207; *Indian Citizen,* July 7, 1892.



JACOB B. JACKSON

Choctaw Nation. Young Jackson attended the neighborhood tribal schools, spent four years at Ft. Coffee Academy and, on August 13, 1862,[11] enlisted in the Confederate army in the Civil War. He served as a private in Company G commanded by Capt. Coleman E. Nelson in the 1st Regiment of Choctaw Mounted Rifles and served faithfully until the war was concluded. Upon his return home after the war, the young man was appointed sheriff of Skullyville County and at the ensuing election was elected to succeed himself. Political and social conditions were in a much demoralized state at that time and the unafraid young sheriff greatly contributed to a reestablishment of law and order in his bailiwick. He resigned his office in 1867 when he obtained employment at Little Rock, Arkansas, which enabled him to attend school there and in 1869, he enrolled for a year at King's College at Bristol, Tennessee. The Choctaw Council, appreciating his ambitions and ability, in 1869 made an appropriation which enabled him to enter Roanoke College, at Salem, Virginia in 1870 where he remained for four years and completed his education.

In 1874 he began the practice of law at Skullyville and in 1876 was elected senator, which position he held until 1881. He was chosen to the senate again in 1884 and in 1889 was elected National Secretary, being reelected in 1891. During his career in the Council, he was a persistent advocate of improved educational advantages for the Choctaws. It was through his urgent effort that Chief Jackson F. McCurtain established the Orphan Schools. To him, as chairman of the school committee, credit was due for the building of the new Spencer Academy.

Jacob B. Jackson became the candidate of the National party for chief in 1892 being pitched against Wilson N. Jones who was running for reelection on the Progressive ticket. He was defeated by a narrow margin following a memorable campaign, during which many illogical things were done, and some of them by his supporters, but to these delinquencies, Jacob B.

[11]Records, Adjutant's Office, Washington, D. C.

Jackson was by no means, a party. Like the patriot that he was, he bowed submissively to the action of the Council when it declared the election of his opponent. To the reign of terror and revenge which ensued for several months after the election, he, in no wise, contributed.

Jackson again aspired to be chief, in 1894, but was defeated by Jefferson Gardner. He rallied the Full Blood Nationals as their candidate against Green McCurtain in 1896 and, had the McCurtain opposition united in his support, he would have been elected because Green McCurtain was chosen by a plurality vote. The grim prospect of the allotment of the tribal domain was an issue and to this, Jackson was vigorously opposed. Mr. Jackson ran again, in 1900, when Gilbert W. Dukes was elected. He served as a delegate to Washington in 1895.

The Atoka Agreement became the issue in the campaign of 1898 when Green McCurtain became a candidate for reelection on the Tuskahoma ticket. The opposition crystalized as the Union party and nominated Wilson N. Jones as its candidate. Political alignments rapidly shifted and the man who had been the McCurtain candidate in three of the most hectic campaigns ever held in the Choctaw Nation, now became McCurtain's opponent. Another interesting feature of this campaign was that Jones was actively supported by Jacob B. Jackson, his opponent in the militant campaign of six years previous. Both Jones and Jackson were vigorously fighting the Atoka Agreement but probably for diverse reasons. Jones deprecated tribal allotment because it would destroy the o p e n range. Jackson fought it because of its departure from the communal ownership of lands to which the Indians were so inured. McCurtain was elected. The Indian had about reached the end of the trail and the peculiarities of his race were in the process of final obliteration. In the light of later experience, some doubt may be expressed as to whether or not the allotment, in severalty of the lands of the Five Tribes, was not

prematurely undertaken by the Government. The full blood Indians were its real, depending wards and, as yet, were unable to fully understand the full sense of the change. Jacob B. Jackson knew his people and sincerely spoke with no apologies in their defense, and be it said to his credit, that his education at institutions in the States, in no wise disturbed his conservative belief in the right of his people to lead their own cloistered, communal lives until they were capacitated to alter them voluntarily. The full blood Choctaws believed in him as is evidenced by his repeated calls to their leadership. A new county was formed by the National Council on October 21, 1886, and was named Jackson County, in his honor.[12]

Jacob B. Jackson was a consistent Baptist and a Mason. He used no intoxicants. He married Levicy, a daughter of Thompson Westley, in 1878, who was born in Kiamichi County, in 1866 and passed away on September 20, 1886. The Great Father summoned the faithful soul of Jacob B. Jackson to the "Spirit Shore" in June, 1909. He rests in the family burying ground some four miles west of Shadypoint, Le Flore County, Oklahoma, where his grave is marked. The Choctaws uncover in memory one of their ablest and truest leaders.

The collection and disbursements of the so-called Leased Land monies, from the Government, occurred during the Jones administration. With a profligacy which had tainted the famous Net Proceeds adjustment, many unnecessary attorneys' contracts for its collection had postponed the payment of the appropriation by the Government.

The Dawes Commission entered the picture in 1893 and while they were courteously received by Chief Jones and the entertainment committee, he had appointed, it was quite manifest that the chief and his people were hostile toward the allotment of their lands.

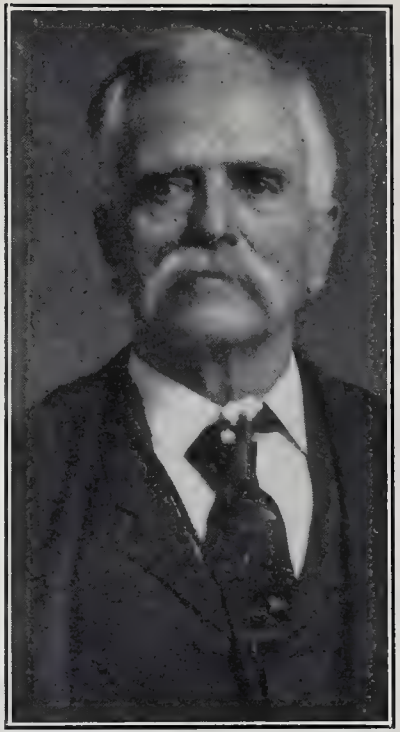
12"Organization of Counties in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations," by Muriel H. Wright, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 8, p. 332.

The administration of Wilson N. Jones was evidenced by the advancement made in educational facilities among the Choctaws. A boarding school for boys was established near Hartshorne and named Jones Academy in honor of the chief. A similar school for girls was founded near Tuskahoma, the capital, and appropriately named Tuskahoma Academy. Peter J. Hudson, then a young minister recently graduated from an eastern institution was placed in charge, following out the Jones policy of placing all Choctaw schools in charge of Choctaw educators. A school named Tuskaloosa Institute was authorized for the education of the freedmen and two older schools, Armstrong Academy and Wheelock Seminary were set aside as orphans' homes and as schools for boys and girls respectively. The deep interest in matters of education manifested by Chief Jones is worthy of comment, when his own delinquency in educational advantages, is recalled.

Upon his retirement from office, Mr. Jones established his residence in Sherman, Texas, where he acquired a handsome home. It was from his new home that he thereafter continued to direct his business affairs. Despite the fact that he resided at Sherman, Texas, most of the time, he never considered that he had abdicated his citizenship in the Choctaw Nation. He was among the leaders who formed the Tuskahoma party in 1896 when Green McCurtain was first elected. He boldly entered the political fray in 1898 when he ran for chief on the Union ticket and when he and Jacob B. Jackson composed their differences and fought side by side to defeat Green McCurtain for reelection.

He had now approached the shadows of evening. With a farewell pause, the old chieftain spurred his phantom pony down the long, long trail and across the open range to the Last Roundup and only the sad winds sweeping the open prairies whispered "I am the Resurrection and the Life." Wilson N. Jones passed away on June 11, 1901 and rests in the family burying ground by the side of Willie, on the old cattle ranch

HOME OF CHIEF WILSON N. JONES



CHIEF WILSON N. JONES

Wilson N. Jones Memorial Hospital, Sherman, Texas. Purchased through bequest authorized by the will of Wilson N. Jones, Principal Chief of Choctaws.

Jones Academy, established near Hartshorne by Wilson N. Jones.

west of Cade where his grave is marked by an imposing memorial.

Early in life, Wilson N. Jones married a daughter of Colonel Pickens, a well known Chickasaw leader. Their two children died in infancy, soon to be followed by their mother. In 1855, he married Louisa Le Flore and to this union four children were born, two of whom, a son William W. and a daughter Annie grew to maturity. The latter died in her senior year at college and Willie subsequently met a tragic death. Louisa Le Flore Jones died in 1864 and in 1876, Mr. Jones married Mrs. Isabelle Curtis, a widow, who survived him. She was a daughter of Colonel Heaston of Benton County, Arkansas. He had two children by this last marriage, both of whom preceded their father in death.

Wilson N. Jones rode roughshod to success but was a character of extraordinary intelligence, unflagging energy and tensity of purpose. He will go down in history as one of the ablest and most successful of Choctaw chieftains. He was a good financier and at the time of his death was reputed to be worth $250,000. By the terms of his last will, the major portion of his estate was to go to the erection and maintenance of a hospital at Sherman, Texas, for citizens of North Texas and the Choctaw county. The will was vigorously contested by relatives and remained in litigation for many years. Not until 28 years after his death were the terms of the will finally complied with, when on June 27, 1929, the trustees of the estate made the purchase of the Sherman hospital and gave it the name of the Wilson N. Jones Memorial Hospital, in his honor.

A FEDERAL EXPERIMENT IN SOUTHERN PLAINS INDIAN RELATIONS, 1835-1845

By
C. C. Rister

In 1802 the United States agreed to extinguish Indian titles to land within the prescribed boundaries of Georgia, "whenever it could be peaceably done on reasonable terms," and Georgia ceded to the federal government the present states of Alabama and Mississippi. The setting aside of an area beyond the frontier large enough to care for the needs of some sixty thousand Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes—Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles — was a problem of no mean proportions. Already the pioneers had broken across the Appalachian Mountains barrier and had begun the occupation of the wilderness, and it was quite apparent that within the near future 77,000,000 acres of land held by Indians east of the Mississippi River would be needed by them. Where beyond the frontier could be found reservation sites to which these Indians could be removed, even though they might be less than their present holdings? And how, particularly, was the problem of the Five Civilized Tribes to be solved? The fact is, when the Georgia promise was given there was little possibility of its fulfillment. The contract was evidence of a policy of opportunism ever afterwards to characterize the government's negotiations with its Indian wards.[1]

[1] According to the figures of contemporaries the removal program was quite expensive. In the light of De Toqueville's charge, that "the Americans obtain, at a very low price, whole provinces, which the richest sovereigns in Europe could not purchase," Senator Thomas Hart Benton replied that figures presented the Twenty-sixth Congress showed that the Eastern Indians from 1789 to 1840 were given $85,000,000 for their land cessions; and that the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws alone had been paid $56,000,000 for the 62,750,000 acres they had relinquished. President Martin Van Buren believed that this did not approximate the total expenditures. In a message to Congress in December, 1838, he stated: "For the Indians' title to 116,349,897 acres acquired since the 4th of March, 1829, the United States have paid $72,560,000 in permanent annuities, lands, reservations for Indians, expenses for subsistence, merchandise, mechanical and agricultural establishments, and implements." For the two statements, see T. H. Benton (ed.), *Thirty*

1. *Removing the Eastern Tribes.*

The purchase of Louisiana in 1803 by the United States made possible a solution of the Georgia problem. The Great Plains part of the new acquisition was believed to be too arid for occupation by white men, and, for that reason primarily, ideal for Indian tenure. As early as 1806 an American explorer, Zebulon Montgomery Pike, asserted that the plains might become as celebrated as the sandy deserts of Africa, "for," said he, "I saw in my route in various places tracts of many leagues where the wind had thrown up the sand in all the fanciful forms of the ocean's rolling wave, and on which not a speck of vegetable matter existed."[2] As to the occupation of the region, he added: "Our citizens . . . will, through necessity, be constrained to limit their extent on the west to the borders of the Missouri and Mississippi, while they leave the prairies incapable of cultivation to the wandering and uncivilized aborigines of the country."[3] Edwin James, who accompanied the Major Stephen H. Long expedition across the Southern Plains thirteen years later, concurred in Pike's appraisal of the country; but he also believed that "viewed as a frontier, [it] may prove of infinite importance to the United States, inasmuch as it is calculated to serve as a barrier to prevent too great an extension of our population westward, and secure us against the machinations or incursions of an enemy."[4] In years to follow this point of view was strengthened, as is evidenced on maps, and in atlases, geographies, guides, and histories pub-

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Years View; a History of the Working of the American Government for Thirty Years, From 1820 *to* 1850. *Chiefly taken* from the *Congressional Debates, the Private Papers of General Jackson, and the Speeches of Ex-Senator Benton, with his Actual View of Men and Affairs;* with *Historical Notes and Illustrations, and some Notices of Eminent Deceased Contemporaries;* by *A Senator of Thirty Years*, I (New York, 1854), 692-693; and ———— ————, *Abridgement of the Debates of Congress from* 1789-1856, xiii (New York, 1861), 697.

[2] Elliott Coues, *The Expedition of Zebulon Montgomery Pike* (New York, 1895), II, 525. In recent months scientists have stated that the dust-storms of the last two summers were largely incident to the plowing up of the grassy plains. The statements of Pike and others who crossed the plains during the frontier period should be interesting in this connection.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Edwin James, "Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains in the Years 1819, 1820," in Reubin Gold Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, 1748-1846 (Cleveland, 1904), XVII, Part 4, 148.

lished in the United States during the period before the Civil War.

Pike's theory of setting aside the Great Plains as a permanent home for the Indians was elaborated a short time later by John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War. In proposing his plan to President James Monroe, he claimed for it four advantages: first, by setting up Indian reservations in the West and by denying homesteaders entry thereon, the government would become the Indians' benefactor; second, the problem of conflicting racial interests, which had long existed in the East, would now be solved; third, there would be no more wars between the two races; and, fourth, commerce between the frontiersmen and the Indians would be regulated and greatly enhanced.[5]

Although Calhoun could not foresee many problems which would arise with such a comprehensive undertaking, he was impressed with its magnitude. Not counting small tribal elements in Maine, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Virginia, South Carolina, and Louisiana, he estimated that 92,664 Eastern Indians should be transferred to the West. To do this, he proposed to move those residing in Indiana, Illinois, the peninsula of Michigan, New York, and Ohio to the country west of Lake Michigan and north of the State of Illinois; and the remaining 78,814 (not including the 700 Quapaws who had already abandoned the Red River region) to the country west of the State of Missouri and the Territory of Arkansas. Of the latter group, 53,625 Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws still claimed 33,573,176 acres in Georgia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi; and some 5,000 Seminoles held a large part of Florida.[6]

As to securing sites for reservations, procedure of the government in handling the problem, and further details on removals, Calhoun said:

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[5] *American State Papers* (Washington, 1834), *Indian Affairs*, II, 542-544.
[6] *Ibid.*, 543.

"The next subject of consideration will be to acquire a sufficient tract west of the State of Missouri and the Territory of Arkansas, in order to establish permanent settlements in that quarter of the tribes which are proposed to be removed. The country between the Red river and the Arkansas has already been allotted to the Choctaws, under the treaty of the 18th of October, 1820. The country north of the river Arkansas, and immediately west of the State of Missouri, is held almost entirely by the Osages and the Kanzas; the principal settlements of the former being on the Osage river, not far west of the western boundary of Missouri; and of the latter, on the Missouri river, near Cow Island. There is a band of the Osages situated on the Verdigris, a branch of the Arkansas. Governor Clark has been already instructed to take measures to remove them from the Verdigris, to join the other bands on the Osage river. To carry this object into effect, and to extinguish the title of the Osages upon the Arkansas, and in the State of Missouri, and also to extinguish the title of the Kanzas to whatever tract of country may be necessary to effect the views of the Government, will be the first object of expenditure, and would require an appropriation, it is believed, of not less than $30,000. After this is effected, the next will be to allot a portion of the country to each of the tribes, and to commence the work of removal. The former could be effected by vesting in the President discretionary power and to make the location; and the latter, by commencing with the removal of the Cherokees, Pienkeshaws, Weas, Shawnees, Kickapoos, and Delawares, who now occupy different tracts of the country lying in the northwestern portion of the Arkansas Territory, and the southwestern portion of the State of Missouri. It is believed that the Cherokees, to whom has been allotted a country lying between the Arkansas and White rivers, will very readily agree to removing their eastern boundary further west, on the consideration that, for the lands thereby ceded, they may have assigned to them an equal quantity further west, as they have evinced a strong dispostion to prevent the settlement of the whites to the west of them. It is probable that this arrangement could be effected by an appropriation of a few thousand dollars, (say five thousand,) for the expense of holding the treaty."[7]

[7] *Ibid.*

President Monroe accepted the plan of the Secretary of War and transmitted it to the Senate with his recommendation, on January 27, 1825. He stated that he was deeply impressed with its "very high importance to our Union"; and that "to promote the interests and happiness of those tribes, the attention of the Government has been long drawn with great solicitude to that object.

The President's statement implied that Indian removal had been anticipated by other administrations. In fact, President Thomas Jefferson had advocated it during his first term of office. Also the initial steps in launching it had already been taken. Acting under instructions from the Secretary of War, on August 24, 1818, Superintendant William Clark and Auguste Chouteau negotiated a treaty with the Quapaws whereby that tribe relinquished claims to lands between the Red River on the south and the Arkansas and Canadian rivers on the north; and by treaties of September 25, 1818, and June 2, 1825, the Osages ceded all their holdings in what is now Oklahoma, and significantly to that region north of the Arkansas and Canadian rivers.[8]

The government was now ready to begin its stupendous task of moving the Five Civilized Tribes to what came to be known later as the Indian Territory. Already in 1817 a part of the Cherokees had been assigned a large reservation between the White and Arkansas rivers, in the present State of Arkansas; but since they were soon disturbed by incoming white settlers, in 1828 they exchanged their holdings for some seven million acres north of the Arkansas in the Indian Territory. They were also allowed a strip sixty-eight miles wide reaching from their western boundary to the one hundredth meridian in order that they might have access to the buffalo plains. Later, under the terms of the treaty of New Echota, of December 29,

[8] Terms of the Quapaw and Osage treaties are found in C. J. Kappler (ed.), *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* (Washington, 1907), II (Quapaw), 160-161, and (Osage), 167, 217-221.

1835, the remainder of the tribe residing in the East joined their western kinsmen.[9]

The first assignment of lands in Oklahoma, however, was to the Choctaws, by the treaty of Doak's Stand, on the Natchez Road, on October 18, 1820. But the Choctaws did not move to their new home until after the amendatory treaties of January 20, 1825, and September 27, 1830.[10] By these agreements they were settled on the Quapaw cession north of the Red River. Even here they were allowed to remain but a short time in undisturbed possession. The Chickasaws, their former Eastern neighbors, by a series of four treaties (October 20, 1832; May 24, 1834; January 17, 1837; and June 22, 1855),[11] were given more than 4,500,000 acres of their land. The eastern boundary of the ceded tract was the meridian of ninety-six degrees and thirty minutes; their northern boundary the South Canadian; and their western boundary the ninety-eighth meridian. Both tribes held in common the region between the western boundary of the Chickasaws and the one hundredth meridian.

This leaves two tribes—the Creeks and Seminoles—to be disposed of. In the Indian Territory, too, by a series of treaties (February 12, 1825; January 24, 1826; and March 24, 1832)[12] the Creeks were finally located on a large reservation between the southern boundary of the Cherokee Outlet and the South Canadian, and largely west of the Arkansas. And like the Choctaws, they shared their reservation with another tribe, the Seminoles, who by three treaties (May 9, 1832; March 28, 1833; and August 7, 1856)[13] were finally brought to the west and settled on most of the area lying between the two Canadians south of the Cherokee Outlet and east of the one hundredth meridian.

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[9] *Ibid.*, (1817), 140-144; (1819), 177-181; (1828), 288-292; and (1835), 434-449.
[10] *Ibid.*, (1820), 191-195; (1825), 211-214; and (1830), 310-319.
[11] *Ibid.*, (1832), 356-362; (1834), 418-425; (1837), 486-488; and (1855), 706-714.
[12] *Ibid.*, (1825), 214-217; (1826), 264-268; and (1832), 341-343.
[13] *Ibid.*, (1832), 344-345; (1833), 394-395; and (1856), 756-763.

The federal government encountered comparatively little trouble in removing the Choctaws and Chickasaws from their old homes, but with the other three tribes it met with many difficulties. Factional strife within each tribe complicated the problem; one party favoring acceptance of the government's program, the other opposing it. In the Cherokee Nation the John Ross faction, resisting removal, was arrayed against the Boudinot-Ridge-Watie group; and long after they were removed to the west their vindictive strife resulted in the death of many. Chief William McIntosh of the Creeks was slain by a band of his own tribesmen because he had signed the treaty of Indian Springs against the wishes of a majority of his people. The Seminoles, too, were torn with factional strife; and for many years after the treaty of 1833, Osceola and his followers prevented removal by hiding in the swamps and everglades of Florida, and by resisting federal troops sent out to force compliance.

2. *The Prairie Indians.*

It was while in the midst of all these difficulties and problems that the government was compelled to resort to an unusual experiment, about which this paper is devoted. Not long after the Quapaw and Osage cessions, the prairie tribes angrily protested the intrusion of Eastern Indians. What was the government to do? It had ignored their claims in making reservation assignments. Although some of the prairie bands were semi-sedentary, others were wild and nomadic and therefore quite unlike in manners and customs the Five Civilized Tribes. And this was a very important reason why the prairie bands would not relinquish any of their hunting grounds to the newcomers. So, here again little wisdom was evidenced by federal authorities in handling an Indian problem. But in order to understand better important angles of the new problem, it is now necessary to consider the range of the wild tribes, as well as the culture of the same.

Approximately the western half of the lands assigned the Five Civilized Tribes was within the hunting grounds of the Comanches, Kiowas, Katakas, and Wichitas. Their range was the Southern Plains reaching from the Arkansas River to the Rio Grande.[14] Its western boundary was the Rocky Mountains, and its eastern prairies were bordered by the Cross Timbers, an extraordinary forest of stunted oak, hackberry, and elm, from five to thirty miles in width, extending generally along the ninety-eighth meridian, from the Arkansas to the Colorado of Texas. Indeed, early treaties with the nomads defined their range as "west of the Cross Timbers." The area was a hunter's paradise: its perennial streams were few but fairly evenly spaced; its climate was salubrious; and its grassy plains were grazed by great herds of bison, elk, deer, and antelope.

At this time the prairie tribes numbered above fifty thousand. Only the semi-sedentary Wichitas, who lived about the Cross Timbers, both north and south of the Red River, cultivated small patches of corn, squash, and melons.[15] The Comanches, Kiowas, and Katakas were nomadic, and followed the great herds of buffaloes from place to place over the prairies.[16] The latter were much alike in manners and customs:

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[14] R. N. Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (Glendale, 1933), ch. 1. Professor Richardson's book is the only comprehensive and critical study available on the Comanches.

[15] Montfort Stokes and Matthew Arbuckle to Lewis Cass, September 15, 1835. From *MSS.* found in the old records files, office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, under the heading of "Western Superintendency," and hereinafter cited as W. S., C. I. A.

[16] An eminent American ethnologist, under the caption, "Popular fallacies," has made the following statement: "The term nomadic is not, in fact, properly applicable to any Indian tribe." Frederick W. Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (Washington, 1907), Part II, 283. *The Handbook* is not quite consistent in this statement for in Part I, 66 is found: "Being a nomadic people, the Apache practiced agriculture only to a limited extent"; and *ibid.*, 328, "The Comanche were nomad buffalo hunters, constantly on the move." . . . Practically all government officials in the Indian country and visitors during this early period confirm the two latter statements. As an example, commissioners Stokes and Arbuckle wrote Secretary Cass on September 15, 1835: "The Comanches and Kiowas have no fixed or permanent villages and follow the herds of buffaloes with their moveable lodges." W. S., C. I. A. A few of the many early accounts agreeing with this statement are: R. B. Marcy, *Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border* (New York, 1866), 17-97; George Catlin, *North American Indians. Being Letters and Notes on Their Manners, Customs, and Conditions, Written during Eight Years Travel Amongst the Wildest Tribes of Indians in North America,* 1832-1839 (Edinburgh, 1926), II,

they lived in skin ti'pi's which could be put up or taken down quickly and transported by horse and travois poles to another camp site, as exigencies might require; they dressed in skins; and they subsisted partly on the spontaneous products of the country, and partly by stealing from their neighbors, both red and white. Although their culture was by no means as primitive as that of the miserable "Diggers" of California, it was far more so than that of their Eastern neighbors.

The buffalo and mustang (wild horse) contributed much to their nomadic habits. From the hide of the first the Indian made his ti'pi's, robe, clothing, lariat, shield, and bow string. He ate its flesh; he made spikes, and ornaments of its hoofs, horns, and bones; and in emergencies, he drank its blood and stomach juices.[17] Since therefore he depended to such a large degree on the buffalo, he must follow the great herds in their wanderings in search of grass, or on their annual migrations, north and south.

The nomad also needed the horse, not only in his wanderings, but in his extended hunting expeditions, or in projecting his war forays. Mounted bands which normally ranged along the upper reaches of the Red, Brazos, and Colorado rivers, frequently made raids as far south as Saltillo and Chihuahua,[18] and hunting expeditions as far west as Utah or as far north as Wyoming.

While engaged in such enterprises, the average nomad gloried in the chase, in taking scalps, in plundering hostile camps or caravans of white traders passing through his country, and in stealing horses wherever they could be found; con-

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43, *et sequor*; E. House (ed.), *A Narrative of the Captivity of Mrs. Horn and Her Two Children with Mrs. Harris by the Comanche Indians, After they had Murdered their Husbands and Traveling Companions; with a Brief Account of the Manners and Customs of that Nation of Savages, of Whom so Little is Generally Known* (St. Louis, 1839), 54-61; and Thomas C. Battey, *The Life and Adventures of a Quaker Among the Indians* (Boston, 1875), 319-333.

[17] Hodge (ed.), *op. cit.*, Part I, 169-170.

[18] James Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians," in the *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1895-96 (Washington, 1898), Part I, map opposite page 248.

sequently, raids and hunting excursions were matters of great importance. In short, the nomads were the scourges of neighboring sedentary bands, of the inhabitants of northern Mexico, and of the Anglo-American traders and travelers; and their strength was even greater than their numbers would indicate, since the average warrior was bold, fierce, expert in horsemanship, and amazingly proficient in using the bow and arrow.

The Comanches were the most numerous of the wandering tribes. P. L. Chouteau, who visited their hunting grounds in 1836, stated that be believed their warriors would number 4,500, although the Mexican government's estimate was 8,000. This would evidence a total population between 27,000 and 48,000.[19] They were divided into several bands, the principal ones being the Yamparikas (root-eaters), ranging along the Arkansas; the Kotsotekas (buffalo eaters), occupying the Canadian Valley; the Kwahadies (antelope-eaters), living long the foothills and canyons of the Llano Estacado; the Penatekas (honey-eaters), camping along the upper waters of the Brazos and Colorado; and the Nokonies (wanderers), ranging north of the Penatekas.[20]

The Kiowas and Katakas, whose numbers ranged above ten thousand, according to Chouteau, had been close allies of the Comanches since the late years of the eighteenth century. Although they claimed a part of western Oklahoma and the Panhandle of Texas, they roamed at will over *Comancheria;* and not infrequently hunted, fought, and concluded treaties as allies of the Comanches.[21]

It was these Arabian-like wanderers and pillagers who gave to the Spaniards of New Mexico one of their most serious border problems. When the New Mexicans could not impress them by a display of military strength, as they attempted to do by sending expeditions into their country, in the early years of the nineteenth century, Captain Faciendo Melgares resorted

[19] P. L. Chouteau's Report to Stokes and Arbuckle, April 25, 1836 (MS.).
[20] Richardson, *op. cit.,* 16-21; Marcy, *op. cit.,* ch. ii; and Hodge, *op. cit.,* 327-329.
[21] Mooney, *loc. cit.,* 162-164.

to pageantry. He invited them to meet him in a great powwow. When the Comanches arrived, they were astonished to find Melgares and his officers mounted on black horses, and his five hundred soldiers on white ones. But the two thousand Indians, perhaps anticipating pageantry, also showed to good advantage; they rode mustangs of many colors, and were attired "in their gay robes, and displayed their various feats of chivalry."[22]

Since the prairie tribes would not cede any of their hunting range, and since federal treaties had already provided for the occupation of the western Oklahoma part of it by the Five Civilized Tribes, a problem of no mean consequence pressed for immediate settlement. Its solution was primarily contingent on the nomads' acceptance of the Eastern Indians as allies and their willingness to share with them their valuable hunting grounds. Indeed, having gone thus far in their program of treaty-making, government commissioners were forced to negotiate on this basis.

Prior to the period of removals, General James Wilkinson had already attempted to conclude a treaty with the Comanches. When he dispatched Lieutenant Zebulon Montgomery Pike on his well known southwestern expedition of 1806, in addition to the other objectives he was to undertake, he instructed him to conclude "a good understanding with the Ietans or Comanches."[23] Pike did not accomplish this objective, however. He was arrested by Spanish troops on the headwaters of the Rio Grande, and finally sent under an escort to Louisiana *via* Chihuahua and Texas. As already stated, Major Long, too, crossed the Canadian River part of the Comanche country, but he did not attempt to make a treaty with the Comanches. Thus, up until 1835 the powerful prairie tribes had not been brought under treaty restrictions.

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[22] Zebulon Montgomery Pike, *Exploratory Travels. Through the Western Territories of North America: Comprising a Voyage from St. Louis, on the Mississippi to the Source of that River, and a Journey Through the Interior of Louisiana, and the Northeastern Provinces of New Spain. Performed in the Years* 1805, 1806, 1807 *by Order of the Government of the United States* (London, 1811), 202 (footnote).

[23] *Ibid.*, xviii.

3. *Treaties of* 1835 *and* 1837.

Pending a final solution of the prairie Indian problem, the Secretary of War thought it wise to send a considerable military force into their country. In view of the fact that the nomads were pillaging caravans passing between Independence and Santa Fe', attacking travelers journeying across their hunting grounds, and harassing the settlements of the north Mexican states, a demonstration of this kind might have a salutary effect.

On June 21, 1834, General Henry Leavenworth with eight companies of Dragoons left Camp Rendezvous, eighteen miles from Fort Gibson, for the prairies.[24] By the time the expedition arrived on the banks of the Washita River, many of the men had been stricken with fever, including General Leavenworth. Their plight, as described by George Catlin, an artist who accompanied the expedition, was desperate. It was now decided to leave the sick behind, and to send forward the remainder of the Dragoons under the command of Colonel Henry Dodge. The expedition shortly thereafter arrived at a large Wichita camp near the Wichita Mountains, where Colonel Dodge held a conference with the prairie bands. He told them that the United States desired to live in peace with them, and that a commission would shortly be sent to their country to propose terms. For a short time Little Mountain and his Kiowa warriors were quite incensed because the Dragoons were accompanied by a band of Osages with whom they were at war, but their distrust and anger were allayed when Colonel Dodge restored to them a Kiowa girl whom the Osages had captured during the preceding summer. The Indians on their part gave up a captive boy, Matthew Martin.[25]

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[24] Three interesting and contemporary accounts of this expedition are: George Catlin, *op. cit.*, II, 51-99; Lieutenant T. B. Wheelock, *Journal*, 23 Cong., 2 sess., *House Doc.*, No. 2, 70-91; and Fred S. Perrine and Grant Foreman, "The Journal of Hugh Evans Covering the First and Second Campaigns of the United States Dragoon Regiment in 1834 and 1835," in *Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1921-), III (1924-1925), 175-215.

[25] Matthew Martin was the son of Judge Gabriel M. Martin of Miller County, Arkansas. In the spring of 1834, Judge Martin with his little son, Matthew, and

By the time Dodge was ready to start on his return journey to Fort Gibson, he had persuaded a delegation of the prairie bands, consisting of fifteen Kiowas, eight Comanches, and three Wacoes, to return with him for a conference. The Comanches, however, would go no farther than the Cross Timbers. When the Dragoons arrived with the remaining delegations, runners were sent to invite the chiefs and head men of the Osages, Creeks, Cherokees, and Choctaws to meet with them. At the conference which followed, Colonel Dodge told the prairie Indians that he did not have authority to negotiate a treaty, but he again assured them that soon federal commissioners would come to their country for this purpose. As an evidence of the friendship of the United States, however, he distributed medals and flags among them.[26] Viewing the expedition and the Fort Gibson conference in the large, it may be said that they paved the way for the treaty soon to follow, and acted as an immediately restraining influence on the hostile bands.

In the meantime the Secretary of War appointed a peace commission, consisting of Montfort Stokes, former governor of North Carolina, Major F. W. Armstrong, and General Matthew Arbuckle. Although Major Armstrong died before the prairie tribes could be met in conference, the other two commissioners finally completed their work. In accordance with their instructions, they invited the tribes to send delegations to Fort Gibson for a second parley, but the prairie bands declined on the ground that Colonel Dodge had promised to send commissioners out to their country. In refusing to come to Fort Gibson the Indians were not following an arbitrary course; they were motivated by fear of the white man's magic, or of the frowning guns of his fort. During the period of early contacts, on more than one occasion, before presenting themselves at a fort or treaty site, they sent forward an astute warrior to

several servants were camping on the Washita River, a short distance east of the site of Madill, Oklahoma. They were attacked by a band of Kiowa Indians, Judge Martin and one of his slaves were killed and scalped, and Matthew was taken captive. The grief stricken mother offered a reward of two thousand dollars for his return.

[26] Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest* (Cleveland, 1926), 153-156.

make observations. This suspicious tendency explains why the Comanches who had started from the Wichita camp with Colonel Dodge did not go on to Fort Gibson. They sought to explain why they would go no farther by saying that they did not like to travel through the Cross Timbers, —and particularly, since one of the squaws was sick. Indeed, in this connection, it is not without its significance that neither the treaty of 1835 with the Comanches nor that of 1837 with the Kiowas, Katakas, and Tawakonies was possible until traders—Holland Coffee in the first instance, and A. P. and P. L. Chouteau in the second[27]—had persuaded the Indians that they had nothing to fear from meeting the commissioners, and that a treaty was desirable.

Even after the commissioners decided to journey to the edge of the prairies to meet the Indians, they encountered delay; they were told that a large Comanche war party was away on an expedition against the Mexicans, and that the others were scattered over the prairies hunting buffaloes; consequently, a conference at this time was impossible.[28] Again, the nomads were not intentionally avoiding the commissioners; they were carrying out their usual summer routine. They seldom returned to the vicinity of the Wichita Mountains, east of which the commissioners hoped to meet them, until the corn of the Pawnee Picts was ripe, at which time they were accustomed to feast on the fruits of their allies' labors.[29] Under the circumstances, therefore, there was nothing for the white men to do but wait on the pleasure of the haughty red men.

While waiting, the commissioners made all preliminary arrangements for the conference. On May 18, Major Richard B. Mason was sent with a detachment of dragoons to establish a camp at a suitable site on Little River. But instead he tra-

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[27] The Little Rock *Gazette*, August 25, 1835; and Stokes and Arbuckle to Cass, December 8, 1835 (MS.), W. S., C. I. A.; P. L. Chouteau to Stokes and Arbuckle, April 19, 1836, *ibid.*; *ibid.*, October 1, 1836; and William Armstrong to C. A. Harris, February 13, 1837, *ibid.*

[28] Stokes and Arbuckle to Cass, May 5, 1835, *ibid.*

[29] *Ibid.*

veled for about one hundred fifty miles in a southwesterly direction until he arrived on the banks of a small creek (later known as Chouteau Creek) which emptied into the South Canadian. Here about three miles north of the present town of Lexington, Oklahoma, he established Camp Mason. Then on June 16, Lieutenant A. F. Seaton with thirty men of infantry was sent out from Fort Gibson to cut a wagon road through to Mason's camp, and to convey thereto provisions for the soldiers. By July 19 this was accomplished and all was in readiness.

The prairie Indians began to arrive by the first of July, and after three or four weeks they were present in such large numbers as to alarm Major Mason, who requested of General Arbuckle additional troops. Two infantry companies were sent from Fort Gibson, which raised Mason's strength to two hundred fifty men; but it was still inconsiderable in comparison with that of the Indians.[30]

However, the Kiowas did not remain until the commissioners arrived. The latter were told that some Osages had unduly alarmed them, but it was later believed that they left the treaty grounds to engage in a buffalo hunt.[31]

Late in July Governor Stokes and General Arbuckle arrived at Camp Mason, accompanied by delegations of Creeks, Osages, Senecas, and Quapaws; and shortly thereafter they were followed by other representatives from the Cherokees, Choctaws, and Delawares.[32]

There was never held on the prairies a more significant and imposing Indian assemblage. The chiefs and head men of the Eastern Indians represented more than fifty thousand souls, and those of the West perhaps a third more. The names of

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[30] General Arbuckle dispatched companies T and H of the Seventh Infantry, numbering one hundred men, under the command of Captain Lee. Foreman, *op. cit.*, 162.

[31] Stokes and Arbuckle to Cass, September 15, 1835, W. S., C. I. A.

[32] For the names of the chiefs and head men of all the delegations present, see treaty (MS.) as cited in footnote 28; also Kappler, *op. cit.*, 435-439.

only the important delegates affixed to the agreement filled more than four pages of foolscap[33]; and it is estimated that seven thousand Indians were camped about the treaty ground. Half-clad savages, dressed only in breech-clout, leggings, and wearing wampum and ornaments of brass and silver about their necks and wrists, met Eastern Indians garbed in part as were the nomads and in part as the federal commissioners. Interpreters and traders wearing buckskin were also present to lend advice and faithfully to translate the speech of the Indians.

The signed document of agreement now on file in our Indian Bureau reveals all the verbal clap-trap of the average early Indian treaty—stilted phrases, involved sentences, and meaningless clauses, such as "Every injury or act of hostility by one or either of the contracting parties on the other, shall be mutually forgiven and forever forgot."[34] By the general terms of the treaty the Comanches and Wichitas, and their associated bands, were to allow travelers and traders to pass through their country without molestation, to refrain from depredating the Santa Fe′ trade, to accept the Eastern Indians as their friends and allies and to allow them—as well as other tribes south of the Missouri River and west of the State of Missouri—to hunt on the prairies west of the Cross Timbers,[35] to make restitution for stolen property, to do no injury to the establishments of traders within their country, and to remain in peace with the Republic of Mexico.

Before Stokes and Arbuckle had come to the treaty ground, they had been much concerned about presents for the nomads. Both realized the very great importance of satisfying them in this respect, for in a letter to the Secretary of War they stated that greed for the white man's goods had caused the Indians to pillage the Santa Fe′ caravans. Addressing Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, as early as May 14, 1835, Governor Stokes,

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[33] The Southwestern trader, Auguste P. Chouteau, was present to advise the commissioners and to sign his name as a witness to the treaty. *Ibid.*

[34] *Ibid.*

[35] Articles 4 and 6.

writing for the commission, said: "a considerable supply of old flour and pork, which if not consumed in this way, will be nearly a total loss . . . may be properly issued to the Indians making the treaty, without being paid out of the fund appropriated."[36] In the light of this statement, Article VIII of the treaty is interesting. The commissioners unctuously promised that since "the Comanche and Wichita Nations and their associated Bands or Tribes of Indians, having freely and willingly entered into this Treaty, and it being the first they have made with the United States or any of the contracting parties, that they shall receive presents immediately after signing, as a donation from the United States; nothing being asked from these Nations or Tribes in return except to remain at peace with the parties hereto, which their own good and that of their posterity require." Nothing in return, indeed! Had not the Eastern Indians abandoned their 77,000,000 acres beyond the Mississippi on the condition that homes in the West be given them? And was not the fulfillment of this promise in part contingent on the successful conclusion of the Camp Holmes treaty? How well were the prairie bands compensated for the concession they made to incoming Indians to share with them their hunting grounds? Was the distribution of worm-eaten meat and weavel-infested flour, in addition to some three hundred dollars worth of powder, lead, blankets, knives, and gaudy ornaments, a just reward for their liberality? The nomads themselves were to answer all these questions shortly after the agreement by persistent complaints, angry threats, thefts, and depredations.

Not long after the commissioners had returned to Fort Gibson, a Kiowa warrior, accompanied by a Wichita chief, visited them to ascertain whether it would be safe for his tribe to send a delegation to the post.[37] The commissioners gave him some presents and sent him back to his people bearing an urgent invitation to a conference. Stokes and Arbuckle were

[36] W. S., C. I. A.
[37] Stokes and Arbuckle to Cass, December 8, 1835, *ibid.*

soon notified, however, that an early assemblage would be impossible, since a large number of the warriors, led by their important chiefs, were either away raiding the north Mexican states, or hunting the buffaloes.[38]

In their later communications to the Secretary of War, the commissioners were frank to admit that the services of P. L. and A. P. Chouteau made possible the treaty of May 26, 1837.[39] The first for making contacts with the Kiowas, Katakas, and Tawakonies in their own country, and then after protracted negotiations, leading them to Fort Gibson. The second for substituting for General Arbuckle as a commissioner, and for his adroit handling of the Indians in the conference. In view of the fact that the Comanche-Wichita treaty n e e d e d amending, it is surprising that the Kiowas, Katakas, and Tawakonies were given the same terms.

4. *Failure of the Experiment.*

As previously stated, the federal experiment revolved about the theory that the sedentary and wild Indians could pool their tribal differences to such an extent that they would not only live side by side as friendly neighbors, but also that the former range of the nomads would now become a common hunting ground. The fallacy of this program was soon apparent. As early as December, 1835, a Mr. A. R. Rains, who had just come from the prairies, informed the commissioners that the Comanches were dissatisfied with the treaty.[40] They complained that presents given them were inadequate and that they were

[38] The warrior who visited Fort Gibson said that his people could not come to the post at that time because their horses were poor, and that they were "constantly engaged in procuring support [buffalo meat] for their families." He promised, however, that they would come in the spring.

[39] The very important services rendered the federal commissioners by P. L. Chouteau in bringing the Kiowas to terms are revealed in the following letters: P. L. Chouteau to Stokes and Arbuckle, April 19, 1836, *ibid.;* and Armstrong to Harris, April 20, 1837, *ibid.* As to the ability of Auguste P. Chouteau, Commissioner Stokes wrote the Secretary of War, Joel R. Poinsett, on May 30, 1837: "I am much gratified that the government of the United States has at last seen the propriety of employing Colonel Auguste P. Chouteau in Indian Affairs. He certainly is better acquainted with the situation of Indian tribes, and of Indian manners, habits, and dispositions than any man west of the Mississippi River." *Ibid.*

[40] Stokes and Arbuckle to Cass, December 29, 1835, *ibid.*

unfairly distributed; and, moreover, that they could not tolerate other Indians on their hunting grounds. A short time later, Traveling Wolf (Es-a-ko-nee) was reported to have torn up his copy of the treaty, and to have threatened war on the whites and their Eastern Indian allies.

The next two years were accompanied by even more uncertainty and trouble. On April 19, 1836, P. L. Chouteau wrote the commissioners of thefts, of murders, and of threatened war by the prairie bands because of friction between them and the Eastern Indians.[41] Superintendent William Armstrong also noticed the growing irritation between the rival tribes, and warned the government of possible consequences.[42] That the danger was not of passing importance is thus shown in a letter which he wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, C. A. Harris: "There are now such a number of Indians that meet upon the prairie as a common hunting ground, which has been until lately, generally occupied by the Comanches and other wild tribes, that depredations upon the property of each other will take place, which must soon lead to collision."[43]

Moreover, Superintendent Armstrong found impossible the enforcement of treaty obligations. When he would accuse Tabaquena or Little Mountain, influential chiefs of the Comanches and Kiowas, of molesting travelers passing through their country, or of attacking hunting parties of friendly tribes, they would naively reply that these hostile acts had been committed by Texas bands of their tribes; or, when he would seek to hold Clermont, Osage chief, responsible for the horse-stealing of his warriors, that worthy would state that his young braves, who refused to listen to the counsels of their elders, were guilty.[44] Armstrong believed that there was much truth in these rejoinders. So long as a large part of *Comancheria*

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[41] *Ibid.*
[42] April 29, 1836, *ibid.*
[43] February 13, 1837, *ibid.*
[44] A. P. Chouteau to Harris, December 16, 1837, *ibid.* Chief Clermont advised Chouteau to punish his young warriors who had stolen horses by forcing them to ride wooden horses during the day and by imprisoning them at night.

was under the control of the Republic of Texas, the Comanche, Kiowa, and Wichita bands residing there would regard lightly the treaties which their northern brothers had signed; and until additional troops were sent to strengthen the border posts and establish new ones, even the warriors of the treaty bands would refuse to accept restrictions.

As disturbing as were these developments, clashes between the Eastern Indians and the nomads were less frequent from 1838 to 1845. Mutual fear drove the two groups apart. The Eastern tribes, fearing the plains warriors as much as did the white settlers of Texas, seldom ranged beyond the Cross Timbers; and the Comanches and Kiowas on their part chose to confine their wanderings to the prairies farther west. As early as February, 1837, Superintendent Armstrong noticed that the Creeks did not range west of Camp Mason; and in order that their southern friendly neighbors might be similarly discreet, he thus instructed P. L. Chouteau: "If you should see any Choctaws out of their country hunting say to them to return forthwith."[45] That the Choctaws little needed this admonition, even though they had a treaty right to hunt west of the Cross Timbers and plant settlements there, is revealed in a statement made by Commissioner T. Hartley Crawford in his annual report of 1841. In referring to the attacks of hostile Texas Indians on the Chickasaws and Choctaws, and other frontier disturbances, he concluded: "For these reasons, the Indian owners of the district have not made as extensive settlements in the west as they otherwise would have done."[46]

As a result of these new developments along the nomad-Eastern Indian frontier, therefore, war was averted—and not because of measures taken by federal officials when weaknesses of the treaties of 1835 and 1837 were revealed. Undoubtedly, as Crawford complained,[47] much of the trouble he encountered

[45] Letter to P. L. Chouteau, February 13, 1837, *ibid.* The Comanches and Kiowas were not inclined to range east of the Cross Timbers.

[46] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for* 1841, p. 264.

[47] *Ibid,* 1845, p. 455.

in attempting to enforce treaty regulations was because of the hostile acts of the Texas prairie bands; but the fact remains, as has been indicated, that the federal experiment had in part failed. Eastern and nomadic prairie tribes could not and did not live on contiguous ranges as friendly allies, particularly when the favored hunting grounds of one would become the range of all. The Eastern Indians had traveled too far on the white man's road to meet the prairie tribes on a plane of common understanding; and the latter clung tenaciously, for many years yet to come, to their wandering habits and refused to countenance innovations. As was often true in federal Indian relations, the commissioners had sought to subordinate the Indians' welfare to the immediate needs of our rapidly expanding frontier. The admission of Texas to the Union in 1845 necessitated a reorientation of the Southern Plains Indian program which finally extinguished the nomads' claim to western Oklahoma. Here, too, the rapidly advancing frontiersmen demanded an elimination of the Indian claims and other experiments were tried; but it was not until the nomads were placed on reservations more than two and one half decades later and guarded by federal troops that they finally became amenable to federal control and a new social order.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Under orders of Gen. Leavenworth, Lieut. T. H. Holmes and his company of the Seventh Infantry constructed a fortification on Little River near its junction with the Canadian; this was done in the spring and summer of 1834. This establishment was called Camp Canadian, then Fort Holmes for the officer in charge of the work. Later some old maps show it as Old Fort Holmes. The location is southeast of Holdenville.

The next year Major R. B. Mason commanded a detachment that went from Fort Gibson to the vicinity of Lexington where he prepared accommodations for the big treaty conference that was held later in the year with the prairie Indians. This place, probably 50 miles west of Fort Holmes, was at first appropriately called Fort Mason in honor of the officer in

command of the detachment that first occupied the place. After the treaty conference Col. A. P. Chouteau set up a trading post here and from that time the place bore the additional name of Chouteau's Trading Post; they may not have been identical, but they were at least close together.

Afterward for some unaccountable reason cartographers and others got to calling the place Fort Holmes; it was clearly a misnomer applied to it without the slightest foundation of reason by people who had no first hand information of the place and its history.

So that properly speaking, Fort or Camp Mason and Fort Holmes were two separate and distinct military establishments at least fifty miles apart. They were probably confused by carelessness and ignorance so that the names were associated with the latter place (in point of time).—G. F.

HENRY FRIELAND BUCKNER

By E. C. Routh

On March 7, 1849, Henry Frieland Buckner, missionary to the Creek Indians by appointment of the American Indian Mission Association, arrived at his new station, near the Verdigris River, a few miles above Fort Gibson. For a third of a century, until his death December 3, 1882, he was to give the best of his life to the highest interests of the Creek Indians. No man who wrought in the Indian Territory was a more faithful or fervent apostle to the Indian people.

Henry Frieland Buckner was born at Newport in East Tennessee, December 18, 1818. His mother when a little girl had heard Humphrey Posey and Evan Jones preach before they began missionary work among the Cherokees. A few years after Henry Frieland's birth, his father, Daniel Buckner, was "liberated" to preach the Gospel and in 1827 was ordained by the Chestnut Church, Monroe County, Tennessee. In 1828, he led in the organization of the Madisonville Baptist Church in Tennessee, into the fellowship of which Henry Frieland was baptized in 1832. In 1836, Daniel Buckner moved to Big Spring and Henry Frieland was put in Maryville Seminary (Old School Presbyterian). There was not at that time a Baptist high school in the state. The father accepted appointment from the Tennessee Baptist Convention to labor as a missionary, but found anti-missionary sentiment all about him. The church of which he was a member preferred charges against him, because of his missionary activities, and withdrew fellowship from him. The wife asked to be excluded with her husband but the answer was given, "We have no charge against you." She replied: "If I were a man I would preach missions just as my husband has done, and as I hope and pray my sons may do." Buckner and his wife and son, Henry Frieland, presented a copy of the charges to another church and were joy-

fully received on the statement of those charges of missionary activities. Whenever anti-mission churches closed their doors against him, he would preach in a grove or school room. Jesse Bushyhead was one of the men who preached with him in those days.

Henry Frieland early acquired a good foundation in Latin and Greek. In 1838 he went to Alabama to teach school and the next year was licensed to preach. He preached to four country churches while a student in the University of Alabama. On November 22, 1842, he was married to Miss Lucy Ann Dogan, daughter of Rev. Samuel Dogan, a Baptist preacher and physician.

Early in 1846, young Buckner was appointed by the Baptist General Association of Kentucky as a missionary to the mountain people of East Kentucky, Virginia, and Ohio. He served in that field nearly three years at a salary of $500 a year. His success in that work led to his appointment by the American Indian Mission Association as a missionary to the Creek Nation. His father was unwilling for him to go to the Indians. His wife's relatives consented on condition that Buckner and his wife would be gone only two years. But Buckner's mother, with the tears running down her cheeks, said: "Go, my son, and the Lord be with you always. Our Savior says, 'Go ye into all the world' and it is as much my duty to give up my son as it is of any other mother. I thank God that I have a son to go to the Indians."

The *Indian Advocate,* October, 1848, published the following announcement: "Since the publication of last month, the executive board have made the missionary appointment of Rev. H. F. Buckner and wife, Somerset, Pulaski County, Kentucky, to the Creeks. . . Brother Buckner has been for some length of time a very successful minister in Kentucky, and was in the employ of the General Association of the state. He is to be located at or near the Creek Agency, on the Arkansas River, and will go to his station early in the ensuing year." In the

next issue of the *Indian Advocate* is a letter of acceptance in which Buckner revealed the hopes he had cherished of returning to the school room, but he added: "I have learned that where there is no Cross, there is likewise no Crown. I now commit myself and my little family to God."

The Somerset Church set apart him and his wife December 20, 1848, for the new work among the Indians. Within a few days a crowd of relatives and friends gathered at the Cumberland boat landing to see the young missionaries off. They stopped at Nashville, and Buckner suffered an attack of pneumonia at the home of "Father" Whitsitt, the grandfather of W. H. Whitsitt, years later the president of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. After his recovery, Buckner and his wife resumed their trip. When they reached Little Rock on the Arkansas River, he had no money. There was no Baptist church in Little Rock, but he found a brother Mason who gave him $25.00. Buckner wrote concerning this experience, "The Lord used this society when there were no Baptists in that city." The captain of the boat from Little Rock to Ft. Smith, a Royal Arch Mason, did not charge the preacher when he found that he was a Mason.

When Buckner and his family reached their destination he had only $4.50 in his pocket. He gave fifty cents to a Negro interpreter, Jake, or Jack, to tell the other Negroes that he had come to help them. He bought a horse for $4.00, and gave his note for $40 for a cabin where a man had been killed. We quote him: "The first thing Mrs. Buckner had to do after walking four miles from the steamboat landing, leading our little son, was to scour the blood of a murdered man from the puncheon of our little Indian cabin." A friendly merchant gave him credit until he received his first quarter's salary, $100.

His new home was near the "Muskokee" Baptist Church, which had been organized September 9, 1832, by Isaac McCoy, That church had experienced many tribulations, and endured bitter persecutions. The pastors of that church, in succession,

as named by Buckner, were Elders Lewis, Rollins, Davis, Kellam, and Brother Jacob (a black preacher whose father was an Indian, according to Buckner). The church suffered so much that in 1841 there were only twenty-nine members, twenty-eight blacks and one Indian. But, a few years later, a brighter day dawned, and the December, 1848, issue of the *Indian Advocate* published a letter from a man living in the Creek Nation who admitted that he had once been anti-missionary, but was favorably impressed with the spirit and progress of the Baptist Church in his community. He wrote: "Four years ago an Indian legislative body refused to pay any respect to the Sabbath and enacted laws to punish men for praying or preaching. Now, they officially observe and recommend the Sabbath." The same individual who opposed the observance of the Sabbath was the first to advocate it in the Council. The Creek Council had passed a law forbidding any Indian or Negro to preach under penalty of whipping, and no white man would be allowed to preach without a permit. Eben Tucker, appointed missionary to the Creeks, baptized Creek converts across the line in the Cherokee or Choctaw or Seminole Nations. One woman who received fifty lashes for affirming her faith in Christ went down to a spring, near Old North Fork Town, washed her wounds, and walked ten miles to hear Joseph Islands preach that night. A deposed chief who led the party that killed General William McIntosh, and later whipped the praying Negroes back in the old nation, was himself baptized years later.

H. F. Buckner, in an article in the *Texas Baptist* (published January 3, 1878), gives the experience of Jesse, a Negro preacher, who was whipped in 1845. "One of them came and tied another rope around my wrists; the other end was thrown over the fork of a tree, and they drew me up until my feet did not quite touch the ground, and tied my feet together. Then they went a little way off and sat down. Afterwards one of them came and asked me where I got the new religion. I said in the Old Nation. 'Yes,' replied the Indian, 'You have set half

of this nation to praying and this is what we are going to whip you for.' Five men gave me five strokes each. When I saw the sticks my heart faint a little and I said, 'My friends, do take a gun and shoot me and don't whip me so.' Then the Indians said, 'We don't want to kill you; we will give you fifty lashes for the first time, and the next time we will give you one hundred, and the third time you are known to hold religious meetings we will kill you.' Then another Indian said, 'You tell our people that Christ was hung up and we do the same for you.' Then I felt as if I wanted to preach to them more than ever I did in all my life. I did not feel the least bit angry neither did I feel at all afraid."

About the time Buckner arrived the church had 312 members, of whom 207 were Indians and 105 were blacks. He said of the faithful pastor, Elder Jacob, who served for several years in that position: "Jacob was red as well as black."

After landing, H. F. Buckner reported to the Council of Chiefs. "The principal chief invited me to take a seat by him and state the object of our visit. On the morrow the chief called me before the Council and said, 'Today we have been discussing whether or not there is any essential difference between our customs (ball plays, green corn dances, etc.) and laws. Our children are anxious to have their children educated. Although I am a descendant of white men I have no education. I am glad that you have come among us and that our people wish their children to be educated. We have enacted laws against the improper use of whiskey. Not many years ago we opposed praying people, but you are welcome among us."

Almost every month the *Indian Advocate* published communications from Buckner describing the steady growth of the missionary work. In one letter he wrote, "Better order in church was never observed by any people." Among the Indians licensed to preach, and later ordained to the gospel ministry by the North Fork Church, were D. N. McIntosh, nephew of General Rolly McIntosh, king of the Creeks, and his brother

Lewis. The wife and sister of D. N. McIntosh were baptized. The wife and daughter of General Rolly McIntosh were added to the church. General Chilly McIntosh was ordained in October, 1850.

Early in 1852, Buckner visited Kentucky in quest of health, but after a few weeks resumed his labors in the Indian Territory. In January, 1853, he moved to North Fork, near the present location of Eufaula.

In 1855, as financial difficulties multiplied and contributions for his special work decreased, he followed the conviction that he should turn aside from his labors in the Creek Nation, and as a general agent visit the states in the South in the interest of Indian missions. The same year the affairs of the American Indian Association were transferred to the Domestic Mission Board of Southern Baptists, at Marion, Alabama, (later known as Home Mission Board, removed to Atlanta). We quote from the 1856 *Minutes* of that organization: "The recent visit to the churches and associations of the South by Rev. H. F. Buckner, renders it needless to speak at length of his agency, as the principal facts are already before the public. The Board make known to the denomination, with a high degree of satisfaction, that his agency was crowned with complete success. On his return to the field of his labors, he had funds sufficient to settle up with all the missionaries, leaving no claim unpaid except a balance of $400 due to himself, and which has since been sent on to him. He found the churches and native preachers in a happy and prosperous condition, though suffering many deprivations on account of the uncommon severity of the past winter.

"The Indian Mission enterprise must long feel the beneficial influences of Brother Buckner's visit to the South, and the churches will no doubt remember it with a commendable liberality. In the month of September last, the Board commissioned the Rev. H. F. Buckner and the following native preachers to preach the Gospel to their own people in the Creek Nation: Brother Chilli McIntosh, William McIntosh, John Smith, D. N.

McIntosh, Louis McIntosh, Yatoojah, Jacob Hawkins, Monday, Holoche Islands, Yarjah, and James Perryman. The support of Brother Buckner has been guaranteed for one year from the first of April by the Baptist church at Montgomery, Alabama, and the salary of D. N. McIntosh has been pledged by the Western Association of Georgia. . ."

Missionary Buckner made a distinct contribution in his translations of the Scriptures and hymns. From the *Report on Indian Missions,* 1859, we quote:

"Under approval of the Board, Brother Buckner is now engaged in translating the New Testament into Creek. He would have undertaken this work at an earlier day had missionary aid been at command sufficient to prosecute the mission work. While the greater portion of his time and energies are devoted to the study of the Creek language and translating he has by no means abandoned the direct mission work. Although engaged but a short time, he has completed the sixth chapter of Matthew. In the prosecution of his work, he finds the Creek language, so far as reduced to system and writing, is exceedingly imperfect. He has suggested important improvements in the alphabet, the grammar and vocabulary of the language. His services will be eminently valuable in the future elementary educational interests of the nation, as well as for the present purposes of translation of the Scriptures into this tongue.

"Should life and health be continued, Brother Buckner contemplates the preparation of a small hymn book in Creek, should the work be approved by this body, that the praises of his people may be according to truth. We look forward to the results of these labors with joyful hope." [From *Minutes of* 1861]: "Rev. H. F. Buckner, assisted by his interpreter, G. Herrod, has completed the translation into the Creek language, of the Gospel of John, a hymn book for congregational use, with fifty English hymns, a grammar of the Creek language, together with an illustrated alphabet. These publications have received the approval of the first men of the nation, and have been welcomed as a precious gift to the people. . .

"Brother Buckner spent most of the early past of the year in translating, and was absent some five months, superintending the publications of his books. Since his return he has been

severely afflicted in the loss of his beloved companion, and continued sickness in his family. [Mrs. Buckner died December 17, 1860.] He should receive sympathy of his brethren. His books have been well received, as will appear from another portion of the Report. He has accomplished much for the Creeks, in giving them the word of life in their own tongue." (His post office is given this year as Micco, Creek Nation.)

Little could be done during the War between the States, and H. F. Buckner carried his family to Texas. He had married again, the daughter of a missionary, Rev. A. E. Vandiver. One of the children of this union was Rev. W. V. Buckner, a Baptist minister in Oklahoma. He visited his brother, Dr. R. C. Buckner, then pastor of the First Baptist Church, Paris, Texas, later distinguished founder and head of Buckner Orphans Home, Dallas. H. F. Buckner preached for a brief time at Linden and Jefferson. At the close of the war, to quote his words, "I locked my doors and went three years ago to preach the commencement sermon" at Independence, Texas, where Baylor University was located before its removal to Waco. On June 7, 1867, Baylor conferred on Buckner the honorary degree of A. M. "pro honoris causa." Two years later he received from the same institution the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. While pastor at Independence and Gay Hill, he was elected vice president of the Baptist State Convention of Texas. He resigned this position when elected recording secretary of the Convention.

In 1869 he was re-appointed by the Domestic Mission Board as missionary to the Creek Indians, and in July, 1870, was back at Micco (North Fork) doing the work so dear to his heart.

In the *Annual Report of the Domestic and Indian Mission Board,* 1870, we read:

"Brother H. F. Buckner . . . has been added to the corps of missionaries. The former [Buckner] was authorized last July to visit the brethren in Texas in view of securing an amount necessary to his outfit, in order to return to his old field among the Creeks, $718 in currency ($526.78 gold) was obtained. At this point the Friendship Baptist Association of

Georgia, at its session in 1869, resolved to adopt Brother Buckner as their missionary, and thus relieve the Board from further pecuniary responsibility in regard to his salary. The proposition was submitted to Brother Buckner and accepted of him on condition that he should work in harmony with the Board at Marion, and forward to it duplicate reports of his labors . . . Indians, too, are receiving more attention than we have hitherto been able to bestow on them. Four native preachers to the Creeks have been put to work. Rev. H. F. Buckner, who was first commissioned by the Louisville Board in 1848, has resumed his labors, after a suspension of a few years, and is supported by the Friendship Association, Georgia. . ."

From the *Report of* 1873 we quote:

"Last April [1872] our Brother Buckner, for so many years an apostle to the Creeks (since 1848), resumed his relations to your Board as its missionary. The Kentucky Baptists at once assumed the privilege of his support, and authorized the Board to increase his salary. Immediately after the adjournment of the General Association of Kentucky, Rev. S. L. Helm, for many years the Corresponding Secretary of the 'American Indian Mission Association' located in Louisville, Ky., was requested by your Board to make a visit to the Creek Mission and report its condition. He did so, and his report was of the most encouraging character. But he found our missionary without suitable accommodations for his family. We submit a few things from Brother Helm as communicated a short time since: 'At the request of the Domestic and Indian Mission Board I visited in July last (1872) our Creek Indian Missions. I found Dr. Buckner toiling under his wonted trials, hard labor, and privations. To these had been recently added deep sorrow for his lovely little boy, whom God had taken from him while he was attending the last session of the Southern Baptist Convention. But none of these had quenched his burning zeal for the salvation of the Indians, nor relaxed his efforts in his missionary labor.

" 'Personal observation fixed upon me the conviction that our mission among this tribe is a success. The deep, the appalling poverty in which the war left Dr. Buckner and the Indians, though hindering it, did not suppress the free course of the Gospel among the Creeks. The scattered churches were being rapidly organized. . .

" 'I found Dr. Buckner and family living in a rude cabin, twelve feet square. The kitchen a still more uncomfortable cabin. In these he sat, studied, slept, cooked, ate, and entertained his company. In the absence of saw-mills, lumber, and mechanics, this was the best any man could do without money or help. But few white men had been allowed to live in the Territory, and the Indians are not mechanics.

" 'The new house was suggested to my mind by the fact that the last night I spent in this dreary home of a faithful, devoted missionary of the cross, the rain poured through the leaky roof of the kitchen where Dr. Buckner and his family were sleeping on a puncheon floor. The beds had been given up to his visitors. The next morning his youngest little daughter, who had shared in the drenching all the family received during the night, while at breakfast was seized with a severe chill. My heart was so touched I could not forbear weeping, and said to Dr. Buckner, "You must have a better house, you will all die here." "But," he said, "we can't get it. I have no money to build a better one. We have no lumber, materials, or mechanics, or anything to build a house." Soon the little girl was delirious with fever, and I said, "Brother Buckner, you shall have a better house." The dear man, and his lovely wife, doomed to so many disappointments, weeping, softly said, "We need it, but—." "But you must have a better house."

" 'As soon as I reached St. Louis, I wrote an appeal to the Missouri Baptists, and sent it to the *Central Baptist,* and, just as soon as I could, made an appeal through the *Western Recorder.* Soon the house will be done and our faithful missionary and his family be comfortable. [That house near Eufaula is still standing. About two hundred yards away is the grave of Buckner.]

" 'The Indian brethren rejoice in this renewed expression of our confidence in their apostle, and regard it as a compliment equally to themselves. To build a house so far from every thing needed in its erection, and transport it five hundred miles by rail—and to furnish a suitable representation of the taste and liberality of the Southern Baptists, a house of architectural beauty was necessary. Nor is this all; it is due to this people now civilized and soon to be merged into citizenship in this government, that a model house of this sort should be given by those who had by the Gospel elevated them from a savage state to learning and religion.' "

The story of the close of his earthly labors is related in the *Annual Report of the Home Mission Board,* 1883:

"A great calamity, as men see it, has befallen our Mission among the Indians. On the third of December, 1882, Rev. H. F. Buckner, D.D., who for thirty-three years had been the untiring friend of the Red man, who had endured labors and hardships and sufferings rarely equalled since the days of the martyrs, while lying on his couch of suffering, and longing still to live for the people he loved, felt the approach of death. Yielding to the Master's will and exclaiming, 'Eternal life! eternal life! now let it come,' he closed his eyes for the long and dreamless sleep of death and the ransomed spirit went up to rest in the Paradise of God. No eulogy is needed for him. His memorial is in the hearts of his brethren. His record is on high. His name will live among the Red men as long as the land he has glorified with his labors shall spread its green bosom to the sun, or its streams shall flow downward to the sea. . ."

References:

Indian Advocate, 1848-1855 (Oklahoma State Historical Library).
Texas Baptist, 1877-1882 (Buckner Orphans Home).
W. C. Crane, *Correspondence* (University of Texas and Baptist Bible Institute.)
Minutes of Baptist Home Mission Board, Atlanta, and of the Southern Baptist Convention.
R. C. Buckner's "*Life of Faith and Works.*"
Burnett, "*Tennessee Baptist Pioneer Preachers.*"
E. C. Routh, "*Story of Oklahoma Baptists.*"

DISSOLUTION OF THE IOWA RESERVATION

By Berlin B. Chapman

Of the thirteen Indian reservations in Oklahoma Territory, nine were dissolved in accordance with agreements concluded by the Cherokee Commission with Indians occupying the reservations. It was with the Iowas that the Commission concluded its first agreement. The Iowas occupied a reservation which included the lands between the Cimarron and the Deep Fork of the Canadian, just east of the Indian Meridian. The reservation embraced 279,296 acres. President Arthur, by an executive order[1] of August 15, 1883, set apart this tract of land for the permanent use and occupation of "the Iowa and such other Indians" as the Secretary of the Interior might see fit to locate thereon.

As organized on June 29, 1889 the members of the Cherokee Commission were General Lucius Fairchild of Wisconsin, chairman, General John F. Hartranft of Pennsylvania, and Alfred M. Wilson of Arkansas. Among other things the Commission was instructed[2] that if it should be found impossible to secure a cession of all the lands in the Indian Territory lying west of the ninety-sixth meridian, owned or claimed by any of the several nations or tribes, it might then negotiate for such modification[3] of existing reservations and claims as the said nations might severally agree to. The Commission was instructed to negotiate with the Iowas for whatever right they might have in the reservation occupied by them under the executive order of August 15, 1883, and the General Allotment Act.

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[1] Kappler i, 843-844.

[2] The instructions in full are in O. I. A. (Office of Indian Affairs), *Misc. Docs.*, pp. 43496-43541.

[3] The Commission however was instructed that such negotiations should not be had with the Cherokees in respect to their claims to lands lying west of the ninety-sixth meridian.

Horace Speed, Secretary to the Commission, in a letter to Fairchild[4] on September 6, 1889 urged that the Commission visit the Iowa reservation with the purpose of securing an agreement for its dissolution. He reported that the Iowas had moved to the most desirable parts of the reservation because they expected to have their lands allotted soon. From Guthrie he wrote to Fairchild on September 26: "If the commissioners can come here in October and before the Cherokees visit the Iowas and Sac and Foxes it would be well. They would take in severalty I think—so [I] hear from several of them. That would open 1,000,000 acres this winter and help us vastly."[5] Three days later he wrote: "After mailing todays letter I learned that the Iowas were willing to severalty because they doubted having any title to their reservation (they are on by executive order only) and want to treat this fall. It would be little trouble arranging terms with them and the effect on the other tribes will be good. This being the case would it not be well to see them on our way to Tahlequah. We can do the business for them in a week or so."[6] "The Iowas," he said on October 1, "can be soon closed with; the other Indians will take at least two visits—first to inform and urge them, then after they have deliberated, another visit to make the treaty. A treaty with them would help us with other tribes very much."[7]

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[4] The *Fairchild Papers* are in the Library of the Wisconsin Historical Society at Madison. They are filed in chronological order.

[5] Speed to Fairchild, Sept. 26, 1889, *ibid.*

[6] Same to same, Sept. 29, 1889, *ibid.*

[7] Same to same, Oct. 1, 1889, *ibid.* In reference to the Iowas, Sacs and Foxes, Kickapoos, Pottawatomies and Absentee Shawnees, Speed wrote: On or about October 15 they have a union or general council of all the tribes to discuss further the questions involved and to get information upon them.

"There are two men here— a squaw man who knows well and has great influence with the Kickapoos, particularly with Keokuk their chief who absolutely controls the tribe, and with the Sac and Foxes also. Another is the editor of the News here. He is intimate with the Iowas and can do us good with them.

"These men would for 100$ each go among these people and explain matters—the severalty, its benefits etc., so that they would understand our propositions and be much easier negotiated with after such schooling.

"Would it not be well to let these men go among the Indians separately, as friends of the Indians only, and not under any contract or understanding with the commission and attend the councils and return. Then pay them 100$ for services. I believe it would be money well spent."

In October consultation was held with the Iowas but Fairchild found them less willing to make an agreement than Speed had estimated. "A dirty lot they are," Fairchild wrote to his wife[8] on October 20. "The whole tribe number only 84. Yesterday morning we held another talk—which on their part consisted in reiterated refusals to consent to any change—and of the wrongs the Indians had suffered at the hands of the whites--we only continued to tell them of the advantages of the change we desired. And that their lands which are not necessary for their comfort will certainly be opened to the white men—leaving for them all the land they can use. They will do as Uncle Sam wishes I've no doubt when next they are visited by a commission. If they refuse I think the govt. will compel them." The Sac and Fox and the Kickapoo Indians, like the Iowas, were visited, were told what the government wanted, and were left to consider matters. "We hope we have impressed them with the importance of preparing to take their farms in severalty," the Commission wrote of the three tribes, "so that they can be arranged with when we next see them."[9]

The Commission met at Guthrie on May 12, 1890. In the meantime Fairchild had resigned and was succeeded by David Howell Jerome, an ex-governor of Michigan. Hartranft had died on October 17, 1889. He was succeeded by Warren G. Sayre of Indiana, whom Fairchild described as "a hard-headed lawyer, pleasant and genial," with "a lot of sound, hard horse-sense." From Guthrie the closest Indians with whom the Commission could negotiate were the Iowas. On Saturday, May 17, 1890, they arrived at the Iowa Village where they were to conclude the first of a series of agreements for the dissolution of reservations in Oklahoma Territory.[10] On that night, Sunday

[8] Fairchild to "Frank," Oct. 20, 1889, *ibid.* From the field of operation Fairchild wrote frequently to his wife, Frances, whom the family called "Frank."

[9] Letter to Sec. Noble, Oct. 25, 1889, O. I. A., 6674 Ind. Div. 1889.

[10] According to Speed the Commission went to the Iowas first because they were considered the best disposed to hear and do what the government suggested and advised them to do. Speed to Roy Hoffman, Nov. 27, 1911, *H. Reports,* 66 Cong. 2 sess., i (7652), no. 581, pp. 4-5.

and parts of other days during the stay of the Commission, the Iowas held grotesque dances to the music of a brass drum accompanied by sleigh bells, presumably to invoke aid from on high to guide them in their negotiations with the Commission. Their minds had become fixed upon allotments of one hundred and sixty acres[11] to each member of the tribe and $1.25 an acre for the residue of the reservation. They believed that the executive order of August 15, 1883 confirmed to them an absolute title to the reservation they occupied. But the commissioners were aware, as they said, of "the very limited extent of the Iowas' real title and interest" in and to the lands of the reservation.[12]

As became their practice in dealing with tribes, the Commission explained to the Iowas that under existing conditions it was best for them to select allotments from the choicest land, sell the surplus and use the proceeds to improve their farms and homes.[13] The Commission were careful to say to the tribes that they would not force, scare or coax them into making agreements, but their actions and arguments in some instances tended to discount the value of the ideal they set forth. "The whole truth," said Jerome to the Iowas, "is that the white people are bound to go in and occupy these lands; but before the Government gives away it wants the Indians to have their homes."[14] The Iowas were told that "the first of October the cattle[15] are going out of here and something has got to be

[11] Note the allotment provisions in the act of March 3, 1885, 23 *Statutes*, 351.

[12] Commissioners to the President, May 28, 1890, *S. Ex. Docs.*, 51 Cong. 1 sess., xi (2688), no. 171, p. 7. In a telegram to the Secretary of the Interior June 18, 1890 Chairman Jerome said: "The Iowas now on the reservation were runaways just drifting about; no consideration except that of humanity invoked the Executive Order locating them in the Ind. Terry." A copy of the telegram is in the Indian Office, L. 18607-1890.

[13] The Commission said emphatically that the Indians would not be crowded off the reservation. As for allotments they said: "We want you to have first choice; take what you want."

[14] The proceedings of the councils the Cherokee Commission held with the Iowas in May 1890 contain at present thirty-six pages; the last page or pages are missing. O. I. A., I. S. P. (Irregular Shaped Papers), Drawer 8. According to the proceedings, councils were held on the afternoons or evenings of May 17, 19, 20, 26, and on the following day.

[15] In 1890 Commissioner Morgan estimated that in the Indian Territory cattlemen had on ten reservations (the Cheyenne and Arapahoe, Pottawatomie and Ab-

done"; that Congress had authorized the President to open the lands, that unless a trade were made with the Commission, an arbitrary order would be made allowing the Iowas less than the Commission offered them, that Congress did not think they owned the reservation except enough land to live on, that such a chance as the present one would surely never come to them again; and they were asked what they would do if no trade were made and eventually "a lot of white people get in."

The Iowas observed that the experience of the Pottawatomies in taking allotments was not encouraging, for eventually they had been "turned out and come back with their clothes torn" and in extreme poverty. They suggested that the Commission deal with the Pottawatomies, Kickapoos, and Sacs and Foxes and see how these Indians fared under the proposed system of land tenure; but they were told that they themselves ought to be just as smart as any Indians and know what they wanted to do. Some members of the tribe wanted to consult the northern Iowas before making the trade, some preferred to buy the reservation outright if their title was not absolute, and some expressed uneasiness in a stable government policy since the President himself served only four years. It was claimed that the United States owed the Iowas a good deal of money because of matters within their memory, matters of which they had heard from their fathers before they died and from white people everywhere. It was proposed that the Great Father settle old debts and begin anew as a preliminary step to an agreement. Allotments were regarded as an entering wedge which would in time deprive the Indians of all their lands. The period of inalienation was looked upon with favor and the fact that they "were compelled" to have their allotments for twenty-five years was an encouragement to trade. On May 19 Jerome explained the proposition of the govern-

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sentee Shawnee and Kickapoo reservations were excepted) 321,800 head of cattle. Morgan to Sec. Int., March 13, 1890, O. I. A., *L. Lettter Book* 195, pp. 323-335. A table of the reservations, somewhat incomplete, lists the persons or firms holding cattle, the estimated number of cattle, the number of acres grazed, the dates of expiration of agreements with the Indians and the amounts paid to them annually.

ment and on the following day Jefferson White Cloud led the way of his fellows to the conclusion of an agreement.[16] Some signatures were attached as late as May 27. On the following day the Commission reported the agreement to the President.

According to the provisions of the agreement the Iowa tribe residing and having their homes on the reservation, surrendered and relinquished to the United States all their right, title, claim, and interest in and to and over the reservation. There was excepted from the operation of the agreement, a tract of land not exceeding ten acres in a square form, including the church, schoolhouse, and graveyard at or near Iowa Village. This tract should belong to the Iowa tribe in common so long as they should use the same for religious, educational, and burial purposes for their tribe—but whenever they should cease to use the same for such purposes for their tribe, the said tract of land should belong to the United States.[17] The United States agreed to pay the tribe $84,350; a part of this payment was referred to as being "a further and only additional consideration" for the surrender and relinquishment of title, claim, right, and interest of the Iowas in and to the lands of the reservation. The estimated area of the lands which the United States should acquire by the agreement was 221,528 acres. In view of the payment to be made to the tribe, it would appear that the United States was acquiring the surplus lands of the reservation for about thirty-eight cents an acre. The agreement did not include the usual provision that allotments should be subject to the General Allotment Act but to all intents and purposes it conformed to that act and its amendments. The Iowas agreed to take allotments of eighty acres each. Sections sixteen and thirty-six were not withheld from allotment. No other restriction as to locality was placed upon the selection of allot-

[16] The agreement is dated May 20, 1890 and is in *S. Ex. Docs., loc. cit.*, pp. 9-12.

[17] A supplemental article to the agreement provided that when allotments were being made, the chief of the Iowas might select a similar tract of ten acres to be held in common by the tribe.

ments than that they should conform to the Congressional survey or subdivision of the reservation; and allottees were given certain preferences to lands they had improved. Agents were to select allotments for Indians who failed to make selections within sixty days after proper notice had been given. Secretary Noble observed that the agreement was deemed the most satisfactory conclusion that could be reached. It is significant that the first agreement secured by the Commission was made with a tribe whose claim of title to lands was flimsy and whose people were few in number and poorly advanced in the arts of civilization.

In accordance with the act of March 2, 1889, the President was required to report the agreement to the council or councils of the nation or nations, tribe or tribes agreeing to the same for ratification. The Commission reported that the Iowas had no government[18] that they were made aware of. They reported that of an entire population of about eighty-six men, women, and children, they secured to the agreement the signatures of those over eighteen years of age that represented sixty-two. Noble thought that if the agreement were ratified by the Indians it should be by the same Indians who signed it.

A complex question arose as to what interest the Iowas in Nebraska and Kansas might have in the reservation. Acting Commissioner Robert V. Belt held that those who should elect to remove to it would have an inchoate right therein, of which they could only be deprived with their consent or by the action of the clear majority of the whole tribe.[19] He recommended that provision be made in the agreement whereby sufficient land should be reserved to make allotments to those members of the tribe, not residing on the reservation, but who might elect to remove thereto. It was the opinion of Assistant Attorney-General Shields that the Iowa Indians, as

[18] William Tohee was chief but he was blind and helpless and no one seemed to have authority to control or direct in matters of government.

[19] Belt to Sec. Int., June 5, 1890 *S. Ex. Docs., loc. cit.*, p. 15.

members of one tribe, had equitable rights in the reservation in the Indian Territory, which rights should be considered.[20] He believed that it was but simple justice that the Iowas in Nebraska and Kansas should be permitted to go upon the reservation in the Indian Territory and share in the proceeds of the sale of the same. He stated that Congress would no doubt protect the rights of these Iowas, and he implied strongly enough that under the Cherokee treaty of 1866 such of them as did not wish to take allotments under the act of March 3, 1885, in Nebraska and Kansas might be settled on Cherokee lands, east or west of the ninety-sixth meridian. Secretary Noble stated that they might be settled "even east of Western Cherokee line."[21] He said of the executive order reservation: "No consideration was ever paid for it by the Indians, and those on it have in fact never acquired any title, because not accompanied by the tribe, to whom alone a patent could issue, and only upon occupancy by the tribe." In his opinion the "Iowas who had wandered there" were the only ones necessary to consult, and they only out of a disposition to induce them to go upon allotments and to cultivate them in a contented state of mind. President Harrison transmitted the agreement to Congress on July 2, 1890, and on February 13 of the following year it was incorporated in an act of Congress.[22] No mention was made in the act of the Iowas in Nebraska and Kansas.

According to instructions approved by Assistant Secretary Chandler on March 18, 1891, Agent John C. Robison was directed to proceed to the Iowa reservation and upon arrival to immediately notify in writing, "the acting and recognized chief of the Iowas" that he was ready to proceed with the work of allotment as provided for in the agreement.[23] Allotments were to be confined to members of the Iowa tribe

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[20] Shields to Sec. Int., June 23, 1890, *ibid.*, pp. 22-23.
[21] Noble to the President, June 27, 1890, *ibid.*, pp. 4-5.
[22] 26 *Statutes*, 753; Kappler i, 393.
[23] Chandler to Com. Ind. Affairs, March 18, 1891, O. I. A., *Special Case* 147, 10377-1891. The instructions are in O. I. A., *L. Letter Book* 212, pp. 407-411.

residing and having homes upon the reservation. The work was to be carried on with diligence and care and as rapidly as a due regard to accuracy and thoroughness would permit. Robison found no small amount of obstacles in his way. The previous winter had caught the Iowas in straitened circumstances; there had been a failure of crops and game was getting scarce. Several members of the tribe were old and dependent on the government for aid. The Iowas believed that the government had taken advantage of their condition to drive a hard bargain; certainly most of their neighbors were faring better in the sale of their lands than they had.

The work of allotment was slow and tedious.[24] The sixty days allowed for voluntary selections passed with forty-one allottees not having selected lands. In accordance with instructions Robison assigned lands to them, completing the work in three days,[25] or on May 29. Certain corrections in schedules were necessary before approval.[26] They were approved by Noble on September 16. In the main, allottees secured lands in the valley of the Cimarron, but a few secured lands in the valley of the Deep Fork of the Canadian and in the vicinity of their old village. The lands allotted were chiefly bottom and best suited for agricultural purposes. In the dissolution of the reservation 108 Indians received 8,605.3 acres in allotments. Ten acres were reserved for school, church, and cemetery purposes. There remained an additional amount of 270,681.27 acres.[27]

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[24] Robison to Morgan, July 13, 1891, O. I. A., *Special Case* 147, 25404-1891. Commissioner Morgan said that sixteen heads of families who desired to select forty acres each in one section could do so, but that "the lands cannot be used for townsite purposes, and it is best that each Indian should select two contiguous tracts of forty acres each." Tel. from Morgan to Robison, April 24, 1891, O. I. A., *L. Letter Book* 215, p. 276.

[25] Robison to President Harrison, May 29, 1891, O. I. A., *Special Case* 147, 20253-1891; Agt. S. L. Patrick to Com. Ind. Aff., July 1, 1891, *Ind. Aff.* 1891, i, 363.

[26] Morgan to Robison, July 8, 1891, O. I. A., *L. Letter Book* 219, pp. 476-477; Robison to Morgan, Aug. 29, 1891, O. I. A., *Special Case* 147, 31817-1891. The schedules are in O. I. A., *Schedules of Allotments* No. 16.

[27] F. M. Goodwin to J. B. Tanner, April 24, 1924, C. Cls., *Printed Records*, vol. 560, no. 34677, pp. 73-75.

The surplus lands of the Iowa reservation were opened to white settlement on September 22, 1891, in conjunction with those of the Sac and Fox reservation and of the Pottawatomie and Absentee Shawnee reservation. The lands were sold in tracts of 160 acres to actual settlers only. The price was $1.25 an acre, as compared with about thirty-eight cents an acre, at which rate the Iowas had disposed of their surplus lands to the United States. Little wonder it was that for many years the Iowas thought about the difference in price, and that Charles J. Kappler, the student of Indian affairs, laws and treaties, should finally represent them in the Court of Claims.

In a petition dated November 22, 1911, the Iowa tribe in Oklahoma stated that the Cherokee Commission in 1890 promised and agreed in oral statements that if they would enter into an agreement with them, and that if afterwards the Commission should pay other Indians in the vicinity more for their lands that they, the Iowa Indians, should receive the same, or a total amount per acre equal to that paid such other tribes of Indians.[28] Under such alleged verbal promises and agreements the Iowas set forth a claim for $175,967.15. The Interior Department considered that their claim was not valid.

In 1929 the matter was brought before the Court of Claims under an act[29] conferring jurisdiction on the Court to determine the amount, if any, which might be legally or equitably due the Iowa tribe in Oklahoma under any stipulations or agreements, whether written or oral, entered into between said tribe and the United States or its authorized representatives, or for the failure of the United States to pay any money which might be legally or equitably due said tribe.

An extensive and impartial examination of materials as to how the Iowa reservation was established and dissolved reminds one that many a case, apparently of greater merit than that presented by the Iowas, has been lost in the Court of

[28] "Iowa Tribe of Indians," *H. Reports*, 64 Cong. 1 sess., iii (6905), no. 826.
[29] Act of April 28, 1920, 41 *Statutes*, 585; Joint Res., Jan. 11, 1929, 45 *Statutes*, 1073.

Claims. However, the Court recognized "the existence of an agreement," the terms of which were not expressed in the written contract of May 20, 1890, and awarded the Iowa tribe in Oklahoma a judgment for $254,632.59; so that the said tribe received a total of $1.25 an acre for the surplus lands of the reservation.[30]

The Court said: "Without ascribing improper motives to the commissioners, the record at the very outset discloses an obvious and serious misconception of the Indians' title to their lands, and the making of representations to the Indians, calculated to inspire fear, which had absolutely no basis in law or fact. Again the record points out that it required persuasion to induce the Indians to assent at all to the propositions of the commissioners, aside from the considerations offered in money and allotments. A special consideration was paid to one of the chiefs of the tribe, and despite all that could be offered or said, a considerable number of Indians absolutely declined to assent to the so-called agreement. We say this advisedly, for the anxiety of the commissioners to close the negotiations is evidenced by the fact that 62 out of a supposed total of 86 signed the agreement; 34 of the 62 were made up of members of but six Indian families, and one Indian and his wife not members of the tribe, as well as the signature of an unborn child, appear on the contract. Following the execution of the contract, allotments were made to 108 members of the tribe, so that in the end . . . . the contract was assented to by 59 legitimate signatures, a small majority of the tribe."

The Court held that where in negotiations between ignorant and illiterate members of an Indian tribe and the United States it appeared that the Indians had "fixed minds" upon certain propositions, and were dissuaded therefrom by arguments based upon misconceptions of their rights, the case was one that called for equitable relief.

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[30] Iowa Tribe of Indians *v.* The United States, 68 C. Cls. 585; 46 *Statutes*, 260.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT FOR THE LANDS OF CREEK CONFEDERACY

By Gerald Forbes

Introduction

In an agricultural civilization, the Creek Confederacy occupied a vast area of southeastern North America which the Spanish gold-seekers invaded early in the sixteenth century. The Confederacy formed the strongest native element in the southeastern part of the continent. It was divided as Upper and Lower Creeks and the villages were centered about Chattahooche, Flint, Alabama, and Mobile rivers, that emptied into the Gulf of Mexico. There were some affiliated tribes on the headwaters of the Atlantic streams flowing through the present states of Alabama, Georgia, and northern Florida. The powerful influence of the Confederacy was felt from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, from the Gulf of Mexico to the highlands of the Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws.[1]

For nearly a century the armor-clad Spaniard and the attendant missions were bitterly, if sporadically, fought by the Creek Tribes. The colonizing English trader invaded more slowly but firmly from Virginia and the Carolinas—he desired commerce and territory. Salvation of savage souls was a minor care of the English. Save as their numerical weakness forced it, the English disregarded the possessory right of the Creeks to the lands of their ancestors.

In the final quarter of the seventeenth century the Creeks, Spanish, and English were involved in an active international contest for the lands of the native Confederacy—a struggle which continued almost a century. The Spanish established missions on the Chattahooche among the Lower Creeks by mili-

[1] See maps in John R. Swanton, "Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors," *Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin* 73 (Washington, 1922).

tary force. English traders reached the region and an Anglo-Creek alliance against the Spanish resulted. The Virginia Assembly ordered the erection of forts at the heads of the rivers.[2] LaSalle reached the mouth of the Mississippi, originating the French, and fourth, claim to the territory of the Creek Confederacy. The Yamassee revolted from Spanish domination and moved to the sphere of English influence.[3] A migration of natives from the Atlantic coast gave the English an hegemony north of the Florida peninsula.[4] The Spanish succeeded in ejecting the adventurous English trader, Dr. Henry Woodward, from the Chattahooche region, a maneuver which strengthened the Anglo-Creek bond. Superior English goods defeated Spanish arms. To complicate the difficulties, the governors of Carolina and Florida became involved in a boundary dispute, each claiming the realm of the Lower Creeks.[5]

Spanish and English alike had looked apprehensively into the setting sun since LaSalle had followed the Mississippi to its mouth. The Spanish answer was the establishment of a fort on Pensacola Bay. The Spanish discovered that the Mobile tribe had gone inland to trade—the English response to the French exploit.[6]

Despite Governor Archdale's efforts to discourge the traffic, Carolina became the center of the Indian slave trade, a great deal of which is traceable to the campaign of the Spanish for control of the Lower Creeks. Now urged by English dealers the Lower Creeks captured many Florida Indians.[7] The individual traders trudged to the villages of the Alabamas and

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[2] Sherwood to Williamson, *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West* Indies, 1675-76, (London) 399, No. 939. (Hereafter cited, *Calendar.*)

[3] Dr. Woodward to Godfrey, *Calendar,* 1685-88, 19, No. 83.

[4] Verner C. Crane, *The Southern Frontier,* (Durham, N. C., 1928) 25-26. (Hereafter cited, *Frontier.*)

[5] Herbert E. Bolton, "Spanish Resistance to the Carolina Traders in Western Georgia, 1680-1704," *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* (Savannah, June, 1925) 126. (Hereafter cited, "Resistance.")

[6] Peter J. Hamilton, *The Colonization of the South,* in *The History of North America,* III, (Philadelphia, 1904) 204.

[7] Crane, "The Southern Frontier in Queen Anne's War," *AHR,* XXIV, (New York, April, 1919) 381. (Hereafter, "Queen Anne's.")

Chickasaws, where many established depots.[8] Subsequently the trading center of Carolina followed them west from Charlestown to the confluence of the Oconee and Ocmulgee rivers.[9]

Carolina now had a white population of 1,100 families and four times as many negroes. A militia of 1,500 was organized and the germ of imperialism began to develop.[10] The plans of France to colonize the Gulf of Mexico stirred Carolina, many of whose residents had suffered in the Anglo-Spanish-Creek contest and had no desire to occupy a frontier which four contestants claimed.[11] Daniel Coxe offered a solution when he brought forward the grant of King Charles I to Sir Robert Heath which in its vast bounds included lands far south of Carolina.[12] In this proposal to colonize is to be seen the germ of Oglethorpe's buffer province.

In less than a century the English had crushed the Spanish power and removed its influence outside the peninsula of Florida. They had allied themselves with the great Confederacy of Creeks and the hostile tribes that surrounded their realm. They had enslaved and deported their enemies, but in 1699 a French colony was planted on Biloxi Bay near the mouths of principal rivers of the Creek Confederacy.[13]

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The year 1700 was an important one for the Creek Confederacy and the involved international conflict for their grounds. At Caveta a Muscogee woman presented her English husband with a daughter, later to be known as Mary Musgrove.[14] Iberville founded Mobile as an English outpost and

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[8] Bolton, "Resistance," 126.

[9] Crane, "Queen Anne's," 382.

[10] E. Randolph to Council of Trade and Plantations, *Calendar*, 1699, 104, No. 183.

[11] *Ibid.*, 105.

[12] Sec. Vernon to Council of Trade and Plantations, *Calendar*, 1699, 517, No. 953.

[13] James G. Johnson, "The Colonial Southeast, 1732-1763, an International Contest for Territorial and Economic Control," *University of Colorado Studies*, XIX, No. 3, (Boulder, 1932) 172.

[14] Albert James Pickett, *The History of Alabama, and Incidentally of Georgia and Mississippi from the Earliest Period*, (Birmingham, 1900) 261.

with gifts made friends of the nearby Creek tribes and the distant Choctaws. A third hostile factor thus was interposed between the Carolina traders and the Lower Creeks.[15] The French began their western approach to the Creek lands by exploring the Mississippi from its mouth.[16] During this year the Anglo-French rivalry for control of the interior was initiated. The Anglo-Spanish animosity that involved the Apalachee and the Caribbean pirates aroused hostilities which were deadening to Spanish infuence and left the dons south of the St. John's river in 1702.[17]

At once the region of the Lower Creeks became the strategic center in the struggle for domination. English traders gained the allegiance of the Indians against the nation that had forced their migration from the Chattahooche to the Ocmulgee, where they had acquired the name Creeks.[18] Governor Moore's capture of San Augustin was an expensive failure for Carolina; but it united Spanish and French forces. The French traders were foiled by English competition from Carolina. Elimination of Carolina would bring a measure of peace and much commerce to both French and Spanish. Consequently Iberville devised a plan for the devastation of Carolina at once, and the remaining English colonies eventually, through the instrumentality of Indian alliances. With French guns he would arm fifteen hundred Spanish Indians and with nine hundred soldiers from France and Spain he would obliterate Carolina.[19] The English were aware of the French menace. Through the Indians they learned of Iberville's scheme. At Caveta, a Lower Creek town, a council of war was held that started five hundred Indians with English leaders down the Flint River. The Creek force was met by a Spanish-led, French-instigated war party of nine hundred. Almost none of the larger force survived

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15 Crane, "Queen Anne's," 384.
16 Hamilton, *Colonization*, 249.
17 Bolton, "Resistance," 117; Johnson, *loc. cit.*, 170-171.
18 Crane, "The Origin of the Name of the Creek Indians," MVHR, V., (December, 1918, Cedar Rapids) 340-341.
19 Crane, *Frontier*, 71-72.

the ambuscade.[20] This was the first large scale encounter of the warring forces in which the Creeks took a leading part.[21]

At London the Carolinas had been considered defenseless.[22] But while the Spanish were reorganizing the remains of the subdued Apalachee and while Iberville was reshaping his imperialistic plans, the aroused Carolinians were being organized by former Governor Moore. At the head of fifty English and a thousand Creeks, Moore pillaged and razed thirteen villages of the Florida Indians. Three Spanish friars and fourteen soldiers were burned at the stake and Moore returned to Charlestown with loot from missions three quarters of a century old, more than one hundred Indian slaves and thirteen hundred Apalachees to settle as a protective bulwark on the Carolina frontier. The English looked on this exploit as a brave protection of the frontier.[23]

Moore had destroyed the chief allies of the Spanish in raids on the English. He had made an initial thrust at the French. The Creeks now could occupy the northwestern part of the Florida peninsula. Bienville, realizing the French now needed allies more urgently than ever, welcomed and settled near Mobile several refugee tribes fleeing from Moore's attack. He considered Moore's raid a threat to force his countrymen from the realm of the Creek Confederacy, and wrote to Paris that Mobile would be evacuated if the English came.[24] The French project of conquest that DePontchartrain had approved had been shattered but there were other methods of opposing the English—methods the French, Spanish, and English could use.

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[20] *Carroll's Historical Collections of South Carolina, II,* 351, in Swanton, *op. cit.,* 120-121.

[21] Swanton, *op. cit.,* 120-121.

[22] Council of Trade and Plantations to the Queen, *Calendar,* 1702, 242, No. 348.

[23] Col. Quary to Council of Trade and Plantations, *Calendar,* 1704-5, 145, No. 353.

[24] *Correspondence Generale,* Ms. Vol., 567-8, in Swanton, *op. cit.,* 123. The depopulation resulting from Moore's devastation opened the area for Indian settlement from the north. This is regarded as important in the development of the Seminole tribe, which resulted from this southern migration.

The weakness of the French demanded native allies. This necessity resulted in a congress of Chickasaw and Choctaw leaders at Mobile in May, 1703. After Iberville had distributed gifts among the Indians, he argued that these two tribes should cease their warfare. They objected. Iberville contended that they were being kept at war by the English, who wished to weaken both tribes by exhaustion. If they would drive the English traders out of their villages, Iberville would erect a trading post for skins and not for slaves. Peace was made at this congress, the French proviso being that the Indians would try to influence the Creeks to trade no more with the English.[25] The commercial competition of the French and English among the Alabamas, a tribe of Upper Creeks, on the Tallapoosa river, became bitter when five traders went there from Mobile. The English were said to have been there for years, but the Alabamas had sent their chiefs to Mobile where they had conferred with Bienville in 1702. In this intrigue the English were victorious and one French trader, not without painful injuries, reached Mobile to tell the story. French retaliation took the form of exchanging guns and ammunition with the Chickasaws and Choctaws for Alabama scalps.[26] For three years the French led expeditions against the Alabamas.[27]

The French raids assisted the English of the Carolinas in the negotiation of an alliance with the entire Creek Confederacy, which was another blow to the rapid penetration of the district from Mobile. The struggle that now permeated the homeland of the Creek tribes caused several of the weaker groups to draw into the protecting sphere of Mobile.

Partly because of the superior transportation gained through the convenience of the Gulf rivers, the English looked on Mobile as the key to commercial dominance of the Creek region. The South Carolina Assembly adopted (1707) a western program intended to eliminate competition. Thomas Nairne

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[25] Crane, *Frontier*, 69.
[26] Swanton, *op. cit.*, 163, 94-195.
[27] Crane, *Frontier*, 82-86.

was chosen agent to the Indians. Bienville was warned by his native allies and he in turn notified the Spanish at Pensacola. The warning arrived too late to prevent an Anglo-Creek force from burning Pensacola. This removed Spanish interference to the anticipated English attack on Mobile.[28] The raiders did not stop with the destruction of Pensacola, however, for thirty-two towns of Indian allies of Spain were extinguished.[29]

The Carolina traders were traversing trails 700 miles from the Atantic ocean and selling a great quantity of English merchandise. They were conversant with the populations and market possibilities of the different tribes and nations. The Chickasaws were too distant for profitable trade, but the Alabamas were situated among the concentrated towns of the Upper Creeks and there the French had aroused a factional friendship which reduced the consumption of English goods.[30] The excitement and profit of the Indian trade in peltry and slaves attracted many loose and vicious men to the lands of the Creeks. Attempts were made to control the unruly traders through licenses and penalties for disturbances.[31] The superiority of English goods was credited, however, with attracting and holding Indian friendship despite the dishonesty and abuses of the traders.[32] After the English campaigns against the tribes of Spanish influence, the Carolina trade was undisturbed among the Lower Creeks. Fifty thousands of skins were exported in 1709 from Charlestown. They had cost in English trading goods no more than three thousand pounds sterling.[33]

The eradication of French influence among the Upper Creeks was important to the traders, as was the destruction of

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[28] Crane, *Frontier*, 86-89.

[29] Swanton, *op. cit.*, 339.

[30] Governor Johnson and Council to Council of Trade and Plantations, *Calendar*, 1708-9, 468, No. 739.

[31] Charles C. Royce, comp., "Indian Land Cessions to the United States," *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution*, II, (Washington, 1889) 632.

[32] Crane, "Queen Anne's," 279.

[33] Governor Johnson and Council to Council of Trade and Plantations, *Calendar*, 1708-9, 469, No. 732.

Mobile to the Carolinas in the contest for territorial control. The Indians were aware of omens of war.[34] The attack on Mobile (1708) was a failure, despite the report that 4,000 men participated, for the French were warned by the small tribes to whom they had offered sanctuary.

The aggressive Carolinians at this time became involved in a controversy with traders from Virginia, whom they also wished to exclude from the Creek trade. Viriginia contended that the Indian trade was hers by right of priority, to which Carolina officials replied that the land of the Indians was a part of their grant. To enforce its will Carolina levied a duty on goods and skins in transit, some of which were seized.[35]

Charlestown was warned in 1709 that the French and Spanish planned another attack. Immediately defenses were strengthened.[36] Nine hundred and fifty white men were found fit to bear arms and two regiments were organized.[37] Plans were made to enlist four hundred Indian warriors, half of whom would be Lower Creeks.[38] Governor Johnson wrote that he expected the many Indians under the protection of Carolina to be of great use in case of attack. There were the Yamassee on the south, five hundred of whom should be able to bear arms. Farther south were the Apalachees whom Moore had brought from Florida. Charlestown was armed with bastions, pallisades, and mounted guns. The fort at the harbor entrance was strengthened and England was asked to send fifty more cannon.[39] The attack did not materialize and the colony apparently maintained friendly relations with the Indians until 1711.

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[34] Crane, *Frontier*, 91.

[35] Governor Jennings to Council of Trade and Plantations, *Calender*, 1706-08, 765, No. 1573.

[36] Col. Bennett to Earl of Sunderland, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, Feb.* 1708-09 to *March* 1714-15, (London, 1925) 49, (Hereafter cited, *Journal*); Gilleber to Peroneau and Deposition of Boaz Bell, *Calendar*, 1708-09, 252-253, No. 411.

[37] Governor Johnson and Council to Council of Trade and Plantations, *Calendar*, 1708-09, 466, No. 739.

[38] Crane, *Frontier*, 87-88.

[39] Governor Johnson and Council to Council of Trade and Plantations, *Calendar*, 1708-09, 468--468, No. 739.

Indian alliances were difficult to maintain. The French and the Spanish constantly were endeavoring to arouse the tribemen to animosity for the English, particularly after the war of Spanish Succession. The chief enemies to English control of the Creek tribes were found in the ungovernable, independent character of the Carolina trader, and the indifferent enforcement of trade regulations. The rum trade was particularly profitable, and an effort to reduce the evils of drunkenness provided for a dilution of one-third water. This angered the Indians. They avowed that they were paying rum prices for flavored water. The abuses that the Indian was subject to included: the gradual encroachment on the lands, fraudulent transactions in the purchase of skins and slaves, seizure of property on pretense of debt, excessive prices of manufactured goods, the enslavement of friendly Indians, immorality, and the instigation of feuds.[40] The trader was an unofficial Indian agent, a peace maker and a trouble developer, an arch-intriguer and conspirator. There were those who believed inter-tribal peace an evil omen for the colonies.[41] Tribal wars also were a source of slaves, one-fourth of whom in Carolina were Indians at one time. The authorities supplied branding irons, locks, and shackles.[42]

In 1714 Bienville signed a treaty with the Creeks providing for the construction of a fort high in the interior. The structure was placed on the Tallapoosa river and called Fort Toulouse.[43] This French penetration to the heart of the Creek Confederacy district—an area that previously had been controlled exclusively by the English—was an indication of the failure of the Anglo-Creek friendship. The French thus held the Alabama basin and were provided with protection for Mobile.[44]

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[40] Johnson, *loc. cit.*, 167.
[41] James Adair, *History of the American Indians*, Samuel C. Williams, ed., (Johnson City, Tenn., 1930) 289.
[42] Johnson, *loc. cit.*, 169.
[43] Hamilton, *Colonization*, 320-324.
[44] Bolton, *Arredondo's Historical Proof of Spain's Title to Georgia*, (Berkeley, 1925) 63. (Hereafter, *Arredondo.*)

The successful relations of the English with the Indians broke under the strain of enslavement and the misconduct of the traders in April, 1715. The Yamassee tribe, which had attached itself to the English because of the failure of Spanish protection and then had become the tool of the Carolina slavery traffic, led the rising. The war probably was caused by the English when they took a census of the Indians, which caused the natives to fear enslavement of themselves.[45] Before June ended the massacre had subsided. More than 200 pioneers had been killed and all outlying settlements destroyed. The Yamassee returned to Florida.[46] Several other tribes joined in this attempt to end English encroachment. The French and Spanish were accused of directing the assault.[47]

The English now were confronted with the reconstruction of their disrupted trade.[48] This was serious in view of the migration of the Oconee tribe from the Oconee southwest to the Chattahooche river where they were joined by other bands who had moved to prevent easy access by English retaliatory expeditions.[49] The Creeks made peace with the Spanish, although a powerful faction that favored the English developed. For a decade the Creek tribes were the center of a diplomatic war for supremacy between the Spanish and English. The result was an English victory.[50] The French, despite fears of English invasion and the importance of helping to maintain Pensacola, apparently profited by the war. They were thought to have gained an annual business from the English amounting to 30,000 pounds.[51] The importance of a buffer state was impressed on the English and fundamental precepts to gain and hold the loyalty of the Creek Confederacy were discussed. There should be no design to rob the natives of their land. The activities

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[45] Swanton, *op. cit.*, 97-100.
[46] Bolton, *Arredondo*, 63-64.
[47] Abel Kittleby and others to Council of Trade and Plantations, *Calendar*, 1714-15, 236-237, No. 523.
[48] Byrd before Council of Trade and Plantations, *Journal*, 1714-18, 54.
[49] Swanton, *op. cit.*, 101, 398.
[50] Bolton, *Arrendondo*, 63-65; Swanton, *op. cit.*, 101.
[51] John Tate to Sir John Duddleston, *Calendar*, 1714-15, 351-2, No. 691.

of the other colonies should not be upheld. This colony should redress wrongs, comfort and assist the Indians at all times. The colonists should show as little distrust as possible—but be on guard at all times against the Indians. In trade they should undersell the French, but never cheat the Indians. Above all considerations, treaties should be religiously exact and irreproachably observed.[52]

French and Spanish agents among the Creeks used their powers to keep the Indians hostile toward the English, and the Council of Trade and Plantations at London petitioned the sovereign to send several hundreds of troops across the Atlantic.[53] A humanitarian aspect of the situation in the Carolinas is to be seen in the decree of 1716 that brands should be worked into the skin of Indian slaves with oil and gunpowder.[54] By 1717 the strength of the English faction among the Creeks was sufficient to require an armed guard for the safe retirement of Spanish envoys from Caveta.[55] During the next year the English colonists proposed the construction of a chain of forts designed to control the Indian trade, check the Spanish and French, and prevent their own loss of territory. Independent English traders were excluded from dealing within twenty miles of the three colony-operated factories. A ten per cent tax was levied on the trader's business to finance the construction of stone forts.[56] The Spanish strengthened their position by the construction of the San Marcos presidio (1718) and additional missions.[57] Near the Spanish, the French erected Fort Crevecoeur on St. Joseph's bay, but the objections of the Pensacola Governor caused the abandonment of this post. This was a preamble to the Franco-Spanish war for control of the Gulf coast in 1719. A weak effort was made to take Mobile.

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[52] Thomas Bannister to Council of Trade and Plantations, *Calendar*, 1714-15, 235, No. 521.

[53] *Journal*, 1714-18, 196.

[54] Johnson, *loc. cit.*, 169.

[55] This is looked on as one of the important steps in the origination of the Seminole tribe, Swanton, *op. cit.*, 124-125.

[56] Crane, *Frontier*, 199-200, 229.

[57] Bolton, *Arredondo*, 67.

Bienville, however, with the aid of Indian allies captured and burned Pensacola.[58]

The country of the Creeks was occupied with wars, peace conferences, intrigues, fort and trading post construction, and a scramble for alliances during the dozen years preceding the founding of Georgia. The Spanish maintained a garrison of four-hundred at San Augustin. Raids by the Creeks on the returned Yamassee became frequent. Pensacola was reoccupied and rebuilt by the Spanish, this time on Santa Rosa Island.[59] The French argued with the Indians that the desire of the English for slaves was the cause of their inter-tribal wars. So active and persuasive were they among the Upper Creeks that the English were fearful that the French would deflect this powerful ally. Five-hundred Frenchmen were said to be mingling with the Indians. The French were forced, as a means of gaining Indian good will, to buy deerskins for which their mother country offered no market. The skins were sold at Boston or New York, or exchanged for stocks of English trading goods. The French were especially troublesome to the English because of Fort Toulouse.[60]

In violation of the treaty of 1715, Mary and John Musgrove augmented English security by starting a trading station (1725) south of the Savannah river. Fort King George was erected on the Altamaha and Spanish boundary arguments were politely unheeded while the Upper and Lower Creeks were encouraged to attack the Florida Indians. Carolina traders crossed the Mississippi with their packs. Scoundrels swarmed throughout the district of the Creek Confederacy. Anglo-Indian diplomacy dealt chiefly with the traders and in the eleven years subsequent to 1722, South Carolina enacted seven laws

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[58] George R. Fairbanks, *History of Florida from its Discovery by Ponce de Leon in* 1512, *to the Close of the Florida War, in* 1842, (Philadelphia, 1871) 183-186.

[59] *Ibid,* 187-189.

[60] Johnson, *loc. cit.,* 174; Journal of Lusser, *Mississippi Provincial Archives,* 1729-1740, I, Dunbar Rowland and A. G. Sanders, eds., (Jackson, 1927) 93, (Hereafter cited, *Mississippi Archives*); Journal of Regis du Roullet, *Mississippi Archives,* I, 180.

for the regulation of commerce with the tribesmen. Charlestown exported 225,000 deerskins in 1731 alone. Thirty-seven Creek tribes were represented in the treaty of friendship with South Carolina, but they were none-the-less restive in their relations with the English. This is to be seen in the fact that the agent to the Creeks served in the dual capacity of supervising the traders and inspecting the forts.[61]

With the intention of increasing the Indian trade, providing a barrier for South Carolina and offering relief to the poor, King George chartered Georgia in 1732.

Early the next year, General James Oglethorpe disembarked with the first 114 settlers of Georgia, 18 miles from the mouth of the Savannah river—a territory depopulated by the Anglo-Spanish wars, save for one small band of Creeks, the Yamacraws.[62] At this time the land of the Creeks was interlaced with trails traversed by antagonistic trappers, most of the Indian villages held French or English traders, and at strategic points along the rivers there were loading docks for boats.[63] The Creeks were acquainted with the feud of the Carolina and Virginia traders. Now a third English element was launched. The Georgia grant included the area between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers, running west to the South Seas; but Oglethorpe reacquired the title from the Creeks to the tidewater section.

Although for five years Georgia was involved in bluster and argument, General Oglethorpe from the beginning was successful in his Indian diplomacy. The consideration of Oglethorpe for the interests of the Indians combined with the influence of Mary Musgrove and Chief Tomochichi to nurture Georgia. The Creeks, as the owners of the lands south of the Savannah river, granted the English the use of all the soil that the Indians were not occupying, with the provision that

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61 Johnson, *op. cit.*, 166, 181; Bolton, *Arredondo*, 67-69; Crane, *Frontier*, 201-202.
62 Johnson, *op. cit.*, 176.
63 See map compiled in March, 1733, by Baron de Crenay, commandant of Post Mobile, Swanton, *op. cit.*

camping grounds be reserved for the natives. The treaty was designed to form a basis for amicable intercourse of the Creek tribes and the Georgia settlers. It specified the prices of English goods in buck and doe skins, the reward for the return of escaped slaves, and the punishment of inter-racial crimes. The natives greeted the English as teachers.[64] Savannah grew on the site of Mary and John Musgrove's trading post,[65] and in two years Georgia traders were roaming throughout the northern Spanish claims.

Governor Antonio de Benavides wished to destroy Savannah before fortifications could be erected. The Yamassee again deserted the Spanish for the Englishmen. The Creeks raided the fort at St. Francis de Pupo, sixteen miles from San Augustin, an act inspired by Georgians.[66] Florida had only 416 Indian allies capable of bearing arms, but the English evacuation of Georgia was demanded. Oglethorpe and Governor Sanchez conferred (1736) and signed the Treaty of Frederica, in which it was agreed that the mouth of the St. John's river would not be settled. The delineation of the boundary would be left to the mother countries. This was not satisfactory to Spain, which country contended the line should be thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude. In addition to the garrison in the castle at San Augustin, Florida had forty-three infantrymen and three pieces of artillery in Apalache and at the San Juan presidio, near San Augustin, nine foot soldiers and eight mounted. A war junta was held at San Augustin, but no action taken.[67]

Meanwhile the French learned that the Georgians were capable diplomats who were making progress even with the Alabamas, a tribe that for a time (1733) might have involved Pensacola, Mobile, and themselves in war.[68] The French were

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[64] Charles G. Jones, Jr., *The History of Georgia,* I, (Boston, 1883) 137-144; T. S. Arthur and W. H. Carpenter, *The History of Georgia from its Earliest Settlement to the Present Time,* (Philadelphia, 1852) 32.

[65] Bolton, *Arredondo,* 72.

[66] Johnson, *loc. cit.,* 196-197.

[67] E. Merton Coulter, *A Short History of Georgia,* (Chapel Hill, 1933) 124.

[68] DeBienville Indian Report, *Mississippi Archives,* I, 203.

in a dilemma in endeavoring to interrupt the Anglo-Indian trade and friendship, for the construction of forts or strengthening of present garrisons would arouse suspicions of evil designs.[69] They prevented the migration of the Talapoosa tribe to a site near Mobile, fearing they were impelled by an English design. Mobile was disturbed by the report that hordes of Swiss and English were being planted in Georgia. The price to be paid for enemy scalps was fixed by the French and the number that would be purchased from a single war party was limited by Bienville.[70] A warning was sent to Mobile from Pensacola, calling attention to the danger of the English conquest, an aggression as dangerous to French as Spanish interests. Fort Toulouse was the key to the Creek region, but it depended on the neutrality of the adjacent area. There even the French soldiers frequently deserted and joined the English and the Creeks would not permit an attack on traders from the Atlantic coast.[71] France was asked to send troops for defense and the Mobile traders were instructed to increase the competition with the English.[72]

Despite the early arrival of the Lutheran colony from the Swiss Alps, Georgia grew slowly, avoiding at first the consequent Creek ill-will from encroachment. Augusta was founded in 1735 at the first fall of the Savannah river, seven miles from the Carolina post, Fort Moore. In the same year Fort Okfuskee was erected on the Talapoosa forty miles from Fort Toulouse. With these establishments went an infiltration of Georgians who lived with the Creek tribes. They raised horses, encouraged the Indians to steal more horses from their enemies and neighbors, led war parties and taught the natives vices by example.[73] Near the coast was settled a Scottish colony on the Altamaha and Georgia fortified itself with Frederica, Fort St. Andrew and Fort William. The approaching international

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[69] King's Paper, *Mississippi Archives*, I. 370.
[70] DeBienville to Maurepas, *Mississippi Archives*, I, 236.
[71] Diron d'Artaguette to Maurepas, *Mississippi Archives*, I, 252-252, 341.
[72] DeBienville to Maurepas, *Mississippi Archives*, I, 261-263.
[73] Johnson, *loc. cit.*, 177-182.

struggle resulted in the arrival of six hundred troops. England found that this barrier colony was expensive, for in five years parliament had appropriated sixty-six thousand pounds for Georgia.[74] At this time, however, Augusta was thriving. In the year of 1738, the six hundred traders who operated from Augusta exported through Savannah ten million pounds of hides.[75] Georgia had won the trade of the Creeks and South Carolina was antagonized. An agreement was reached by the two English colonies to license the traders, each undertaking control of half. This policy failed, however, and rivalry among the traders reached a state of war. This conflict among the English traders was complicated by French and Spanish intrigues.[76] The angered Creeks notified Oglethorpe. He did not fail to attend a conference of the confederated tribes at Caveta (August, 1739) from which he returned to Savannah with an Indian land grant. This agreement, in addition to expressing friendship, gave the Georgia trustees exclusive right of settlement in the region extending south to the St. John's river, west to Apalache Bay and north to the mountains belonging to the Creek tribes. This was an answer to the French and Spanish intrigues.[77]

By Oglethorpe's trip to Caveta he had held the strategically situated Creek Confederacy to English control in the War of Jenkins' Ear, in which the Spanish had massed their resources to expel the Georgians. Led by friends Oglethorpe had made at Caveta, the Creeks increased their attacks on the Spanish, who never seriously threatened Georgia again.[78] The French felt the power of the English also, when the forces of Mobile were defeated by an Anglo-Chickasaw band (1743).

By 1745 traders from Georgia and the Carolinas were established in the Creek towns only eight miles from Fort Tou-

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[74] *Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, XXVI, (London, 1756) 19.
[75] *Ibid.*, 19.
[76] Johnson, *loc. cit.*, 186-187.
[77] Royce, *op. cit.*, 636.
[78] Johnson, *loc. cit.*, 206, 209, 210-211, 213.

louse. The Indians near Mobile were friendly with the Creeks.[79] Edmund Gray led his "gang" south into the "neutral ground" and traded with the Creeks and Spanish. The French attempted to eliminate Augusta with an attack by the Shawnee. In 1749 the English traders among the Creeks were anticipating an attack by the tribes under French influence.[80] Savannah was terrorized for a month by Creeks under the guidance of Mary Musgrove Bosomworth, the former interpreter for Oglethorpe, who now was incensed by real and imaginary grievances.[81] This disturbance threatened to disrupt the Anglo-Creek alliance which the English were most anxious to maintain in anticipation of a war with France. The French ran up their flag at Caveta. The English were infuriated and at once pacificatory gifts were sent to the Creeks.[82]

The conniving of the French and English for the strength of the Creeks became more intense in 1754, when a group of the Upper Creeks were guests at Fort Toulouse and later at Mobile. At Fort Toulouse the Indians agreed to destroy the English traders, but one chief restrained them. Later at Mobile they were shown a letter that was represented as evidence of an English conspiracy to destroy all the Indians. The failure of the French to succeed in this intrigue for the assistance of the Creek Confederacy was the result of the influence of Lachlan McGillivray, a successful Scottish trader.[83] The Alabamas remained the only Creek group allied with the French.

The Creeks complained that the traders asked higher prices of them than were listed among the Cherokees. They threatened war, but Governor Ellis of Georgia offered a bounty of eight pounds for French scalps and attention was turned toward Mobile.[84] The unrest that the traders had aroused since the settlement of Georgia, however, attracted the serious at-

[79] *Ibid.*, 191-192, 195.
[80] Adair, *op. cit.*, 295.
[81] Jones, *op. cit.*, I, 385-393.
[82] Johnson, *loc. cit.*, 216-217.
[83] *Ibid.*, 217-218.
[84] *Ibid.*, 219.

tention of officials in England. With the intention of eliminating inter-colonial competition and creating a uniformity of regulation, the Council of Trade and Plantations in 1755 appointed agents to control the Indian commerce.[85]

The uneasiness of the frontier was displayed in the petition of Augusta the next year for a larger garrison. Augusta argued that the stores of trading goods should be protected. It was pointed out that if Augusta fell, the entire colony would also and the garrison on duty amounted to only twenty-five to eighty men. In response an adequate supply of gunpowder was sent to the post.[86] Georgia boasted eleven settlements, five of which were classified as cities.[87] To keep the French and their allies out of the Creek region, George Galphin, an English trader, took arms and amunition to the Chickasaws.[88] The Spanish frontier was marked by a road from San Augustin to San Marcos, along which were several missions and presidios.[89]

A decade of disturbance preceded the Treaty of Paris (1763) in the country of the Creeks. It was reported in Georgia that Spain intended to fortify Amelia Island and again occupy the Apalachee Old Fields. To hinder this, gifts were sent to the Lower Creeks and for four years Chief Cowkeeper, a leader of the newly originated Seminole tribe, fostered attacks on the Spanish. A new treaty of amity was signed with the Creeks and part of the nation was induced to raid the French.[90] Edmund Gray was placed at the head of a Creek war party. A Cherokee rising was rumored and Savannah strengthened its alliance by being host to an Indian gathering. To prevent Mary Musgrove Bosomworth from interfering with the Creek friendship, her claims against the English were paid.

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[85] Clarence E. Carter, "English Policy Toward the American Indian in the South," *English Historical Review,* XXXIII, (Jan. 1918, London) 41.
[86] Johnson, *loc. cit.,* 219.
[87] *Gentleman's Magazine,* XXVI, 19.
[88] Adair, *op. cit.,* 288n.
[89] See Mitchell map of 1755 in Swanton, *op. cit.*
[90] *Gentleman's Magazine,* XXVII, 336.

Since the war of the Creeks and Cherokees injured the fur trade a peace was arranged between the tribes, which only united them against the English.[91] The events of this decade served to convince the English that peaceful relations with the Indians could be maintained by excluding the Europeans from the lands of the natives.[92] Georgia, nevertheless, erected a new fort and quartered thirty rangers on the Ogeechee river.[93] On the border of South Carolina a camp was formed for welcoming those who escaped from the Indians.[94]

The English land policy was developed by 1761 when the Lords of Trade called attention to the importance of bearing the rights of the Indians in mind. It was mentioned that the Indians had yielded their lands but not their hunting grounds, and the granting of lands to colonies before ascertaining the claims of the natives was declared most dangerous. The Lords submitted to King George a draft of instructions for colonial governors that would prevent the granting or settlement of lands which might interfere with neighboring Indians. The plan was checked by a division of power that gave authority to the various governors and to an agent named by the crown.[95] The English policy continued to extinguish the Indian title as rapidly as possible.[96]

With knowledge of the home government's policy set forth in the Proclamation of October 7, 1763, the governors of Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia and Captain John Stuart, the Indian Agent for the South, conferred with the Creeks, and other tribes at Augusta, November 5, 1763. The Indians refused to go deeper into the settled area of Georgia for the conclave, being hesitant to accept security from a people who were crowding them for territory.[97] All crimes

91 Adair, *op. cit.*, 298-300.
92 Johnson, *loc. cit.*, 220.
93 *Ibid.*, 220.
94 *Gentleman's Magazine*, XXX, 593.
95 Royce, *op. cit.*, 554-557, 637.
96 Carter, *loc. cit.*, 41.
97 *Ibid.*, 38n, 39.

were forgotten and peace and friendship established in the treaty which was signed. Hereafter the Indian and the white man were to be one people, neither to molest the other. The governors and the Indian agent were always to be ready to do the native justice. The boundary between the Upper and Lower Creeks and Georgia was established, and the English agreed not to settle west of this line.[98] By this clause the recognized area of Georgia was increased more than 3,300 square miles.[99]

The elimination of French and Spanish claims by the treaty of 1763 left the Creeks only one contestant for their lands and it was the intention of England to maintain forts and colonize the region.[100] Despite treaties, there remained a conflict in the region. The French traders remained in the forests and their influence in many cases was strong. The Alabamas moved across the Mississippi river, continuing their French allegiance, as did several small tribes from the vicinity of Mobile.[101] Two towns of the Coosa left the Talapoosa for the Tombigbee farther west.[102]

The King's proclamation removed the restrictions on trade by which colonies of Georgia and South Carolina had intended to govern the Indian commerce. Any subject of England who complied with the provisions of the free license might enter the traffic. All persons living on lands not purchased from or ceded by the Indians were ordered to remove, and future land purchases were restricted to the government. The territory west of the headwaters of the rivers falling into the Atlantic was reserved to the Indians.[103] Governor Wright of Georgia compiled rules for the conduct of the traders; but the influx

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98 Jones, *op. cit.*, II, 44.

99 Royce, *op. cit.*, 637.

100 Distribution of Troops, 1763, Sir Jeffrey Amherst to the Ministry, *The Critical Period*, 1763-1765, *British Series, I, Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, X, Clarence W. Alvord and Clarence E. Carter, eds., (Springfield, 1915) 8-9. (Hereafter cited, *Illinois Collections, British*, I).

101 Swanton, *op. cit.*, 128, 198.

102 Adair, *op. cit.*, 284-285.

103 Alvord, *Illinois Collections, British*, I, 43-45.

of irresponsible men soon overstocked the district with goods, enlarged the credit of the Creeks, and started serious discord.[104]

The land of the Creek Confederacy soon contained many men who would abide by no law and the provisions of the Proclamation resulted in protests to England.[105] The English feared that the Creeks and Choctaws might unite with the Spanish in an attempt to reconquer the region and dispossess the victors of 1762. Substance was given this supposition by the knowledge that a Spanish vessel had appeared on the Gulf coast and had taken several Creeks on a Cuban visit.[106]

Of the three invading nations which sought the realm of the Creek Confederacy the French were the most successful in gaining the loyalty of the natives, a conclusion supported by the migrations of 1763. The Spanish neither gained the loyalty of the Creeks nor were they able to organize the Indians for successful defense or aggression. The English were the most grasping of the three, advancing slowly but holding the territory as they moved westward. The dominating motives of the English were avarice and fear—they sought the control and profit of the Indian's body and property and simultaneously armed in dread of his attacks. The constant emisaries to the Creeks were the traders, each of whom endeavored to cultivate allies for his own countrymen. The tribes of the Creek Confederacy were pawns in a conflict of blood and intrigue for the control of the lands of their fathers. Alliances with the Europeans divided them against themselves. They could not win. By 1763 the fundamental causes for the removal of the Creeks and other civilized tribes to lands west of the Mississippi had been developed.

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104 Jones, *op. cit.*, II, 49, 79.
105 Carter, *loc. cit.*, 44-45.
106 Adair, *op. cit.*, 285-286.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Women of the Confederacy by Francis B. Simpkins and James W. Patton, Richmond and New York. Garrett and Massie, Incorporated. $3.00

The authors have presented here a worthwhile study of an important phase of the internal history of the Confederate States. Its material is based largely on primary sources, much of which is in the form of manuscrpts of diaries and letters contemporary with the period dealt with in the book. For these, the authors have gone to the North Carolina Historical Commission, the Confederate Museum of Richmond, the Library of Congress, the Tennessee State Library, the New York Public Library, the University of North Carolina Library, the University of Virginia Library, the Duke University Library, and the State Archives of Richmond; too, they have consulted private collections of letters and papers, thereby contributing to existing knowledge by bringing to the historical reading public some new material. The authors have used also much printed primary source material, including newspapers, and some secondary sources.

This volume is very readable even to the lay student of history, and to the serious student of Confederate history it should be engaging. It cannot be said that it is written either from the northern or the southern viewpoint, but is rather a splendidly unbiased study. If the reader starts the book with the idea of finding here the romantic tales of the aid which the southern women gave to the "Lost Cause," those he will find, often in the words of the diarists of that day; if he starts with the idea of finding intolerance and unladylike acts and attitudes of the southern women of that day, those he will find.

The authors have given us a picture of the southern Confederate women of all ranks durings the periods just before,

during, and immediately after the Civil War. These women, through their aggressive attitude and encouragement, had much to do with bringing on the war. They believed that it was the duty of the men to fight for the southern type of civilization and that it was the duty of the women to supply all of the soldiers' material needs. During the course of the war, the women of all classes in most sections underwent many privations and much suffering, both physical and mental, although in some sections there was a social life which was heightened in gayety and extravagance, probably because of the effect of the war on the people. There were the problems of support, of caring for the sick and wounded soldiers, of keeping the slaves at work, and of sustaining, during the time of blockades, a civilization which had depended upon the outside world for many things. Defeatism and demoralization, supplanting the southern women's high courage, which was not superhuman, were as much responsible for the loss of the Southern cause as were the defeats in battle. From all of this "there arose many hopeful and forward-looking women who were destined to have a vital part in creating the civilization of the New South."

—C. D. M.

Fort Gibson, A Brief History, Grant Foreman. Historic Oklahoma Series, No. 1. Pp. 44; 25 cents. University of Oklahoma Press, 1936.

The University Press has done well in listing this fine little monograph as the "number one" item in its series of Historic Okahoma. It is an auspicious start.

In bold swift strokes, Mr. Foreman has painted a picture of Oklahoma's most famous historical spot from its frontier beginnings down to its belated restoration. It is a picture of soldiers and Indians; artists, authors, and frontiersmen; traders and adventurers; renegades and rascals—all the pageant-like panorama of those famous characters, good and bad, who have given Oklahoma history its picturesque coloring.

Although hardly more than a synopsis of the subject, it is an invaluable handbook of factual information and worthy of a place in the library of the most critical student of the history of the southwestern frontier.

"The story of Fort Gibson is an epic of the Prairies; a tale of the winning of the great Southwest; an account of the conquest of the fleet warriors of the Plains." (page 43) As usual, Mr. Foreman has told the story well.

—C. C. Bush

Down the Texas Road: Historic Places Along Highway Number 69 Through Oklahoma, by Grant Foreman. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936, Pp. 46.)

In this, the second volume of Historic Oklahoma Series, Dr. Foreman presents an interesting and most readable account of the old Texas Road. Originally known as the Osage Trace, this road led from St. Louis across Missouri and into northeastern Oklahoma, where it served to connect French trading establishments. The volume of immigration into Texas a century ago using the Osage Trace which was extended southward into that province caused it to become known as the Texas Road. The general route through the Indian Territory served, not only the French traders and Texas immigrants, but Jesuit Priests, Indian delegates and pioneers as well.

The first railroad to enter Indian Territory, Missouri, Kansas, and Texas, followed the same general route as the Texas Road. The trained surveyor with his expensive instruments could not find a better route than that which the instinct of the Indians, the traders, pioneers, and emigrants selected. They adapted their course to the topography of the country and chose the most suitable camping sites and stream crossings.

"It was quite natural," says Dr. Foreman, "that a road of such utility, importance, and interest should have become identified with the history of the times and of the country; therefore, it is quite within the realm of fact to state that for two

hundred miles of the extent of this great thoroughfare there are more historical locations, features, and associations of historical interest and significance than are to be found on any other highway of even greater extent west of the Mississippi River."

The value of this little book is greatly enhanced by three maps which show in some detail the routes of the Texas Road, the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas railroad, and Highway Number 69. Most of the book is devoted to those places of interest formerly in the Cherokee and Creek Nations. As a matter of fact, the first forty-two pages of the forty-six take the reader only to McAlester. One might be led to believe that there are very few places of historic interest on Highway 69 south of the Canadian River. This writer, however, thinks that such is not the intention of the author.

Space will permit the mentioning of only a few places enumerated by Dr. Foreman. Their mention will, however, call to the reader's mind many others. Beginning at Cabin Creek, the site of two important battles, interesting facts are given about Pryor, Okay, Three Forks, Wigwam Neosho, Fort Davis, Muskogee, Oktaha, Elk Creek, Eufaula, McAlester, Perryville, Boggy Depot, and Preston, Texas.

Dr. Foreman has been a resident of Oklahoma for more than thirty-five years. He is patron of art and letters and is devoted to travel and research. His many valuable contributions to the history of the state of Oklahoma and the southwest are appreciated throughout the region.

The University Press is to be complimented upon its presentation of this series. The booklets are offered to the public at popular prices, but no sacrifice is made in the fine quality of workmanship associated with its publications.

—Ohland Morton

Ayar-Incas, by Miles Poindexter, LL.D., former United States Senator, late Ambassador to Peru, F.R.G.S., etc. 2 Volumes, Buckram; Vol. I. pp. 274, Monuments, Culture and American relationships; Vol. II. Pp. 359, Asiatic Origins, New York City, Horace Liveright. Two Volumes, boxed, $10.00.

Based chiefly upon personal, first-hand investigations and observations, this interesting and enlightening publication gives evidence of wide and thorough research among the works of previous writers in the field to which it has been devoted. The author says that the Aryans have influenced the Inca people in the realms of Art and Science. He accepts the hypothesis of an Aryan contribution to the Melanesian race which peopled the island groups of the South Pacific and assumes the arrival of such diluted Aryan elements on the western shores of Mexico, Central America, and Peru from that source. His mention of migrations, visits, contacts, and cultural exchanges between Inca, Maya, and Nahua-Aztec in ancient times opens up a new field for the student of American anthropology. The readiness, not to say credulity, with which he accepts, as authentic, words of reputed Aryan origin, in various American Indian languages, wherein similarities of sound may be merely matters of strange coincidence, appears to be rather pronounced. —J. B. T.

Death in the Desert: *The Fifty Years' War for the Great Southwest.* by Paul I. Wellman. New York, Macmillan, 1935.

Oklahoma-born Paul Wellman, who has successfully spanned the breach between riding the range and writing for a metropolitan daily, recounts the story of American expansion in the desert southwest and the resultant conflict with the Indian tribes. As a companion piece to "Death on the Plains," an earlier study of the plains wars, the present work is a readable and thoroughly delightful narrative of a few of

the outstanding conflicts of the whites with the Apaches, Pueblos, and Navajos. Beneath the main theme, Mr. Wellman sketches the lives of several of the Indian military leaders, particularly, Mangus Colorado, an Apache chief whose defective Spanish name means "Red Sleeves"; his successor, Victorio; and lastly, an Apache more familiar to Oklahomans, Geronimo.

Two chapters, recounting the events of the Modoc war in Oregon during the early seventies are included, though it seemed the space might have been used to greater advantage in the further development of the main narrative. This reviewer, for one, would have particularly enjoyed a greater exposition of the activities of Bent and St. Vrain in the winning of New Mexico.

The work, based almost entirely on secondary sources, achieves a note of scholarship in its unbiased treatment of a difficult and little-known subject. Mr. Wellman did well by following up the Apache atrocities with equally regrettable outrages committed by the whites. In too few chronicles of the west is the Indian shown in a kind light.

The citations reveal a marked dependence upon a few studies. An adequate bibliography accompanies the work, giving the reader some idea of the source material that formed the basis of the present study. A sketch map of the region showing the location of the principal engagements, and a number of rare photographs make a more attractive format. An index facilitates the book's use as reference material.

Mr. Wellman's book is a substantial addition to the field of western history.

—Gaston Litton

Civilization As Told To Florence Drake. By Thomas Wildcat Alford. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1936. Pp. xiii, 203. $2.50.)

Here is a book of valuable and fascinating material which should have wide usefulness for students who are interested in the civilization of the American Indian. The volume is short and arresting, with human interest in every chapter. *Civilization* is more than an autobiography of Thomas Wildcat Alford, the great-grandson of Tecumseh, for it is an account of the whole sweep of Shawnee Indian culture and of the assimilation of one of the Shawnee's notable sons. Mr. Alfred is still living, an honored citizen of Tecumseh, Oklahoma. In his life are mirrored the story of the white man's civilization and the influence it had on the Indian, from an Indian's viewpoint.

The reader sees before him in rapid succession the veering role of the Indian in the Civil War; the social and tribal status of Indian women; courtship and marriage customs; dietary practices and child life; notions regarding religion and education; the vexing land problem and allotment system; the problem of governmental relations; the opening of Oklahoma; differences in attitude between the whites and the red men; misunderstandings and inevitable conflicts of two contrasting civilizations. The clash must be blamed upon unavoidable differences of viewpoint, bad faith on the part of the unscrupulous white man, and vascillating policies advanced by the American government with its disastrous spoils system. Throughout this remarkable narrative the reader has a picture of the absorbing character of Mr. Alford's early training, his education at Hampton Institute, his services to the Indian as teacher, advisor, interpreter, translator of the Gospels, and surveyor, and above all his efforts to be of service to his race in the struggle of assimilation. The unselfish devotion of this man to his country and to the Indian problem should be an inspiration to any reader.

Those of us who are concerned seriously with the study of the Indian and with his social history are often puzzled when we are asked to recommend a trustworthy book in that field, either for the general reader or for the student. But *The Civilization of the American Indian* series, to which Alford's book adds the thirteenth volume, furnishes us with the answer, for it is authentic and delightfully readable.

This volume, however, does not comport with the literary style or high standard of scholarship found in some of the other volumes in the series. To the reviewer a few defects are conspicuous. Structurally the material is marred by lack of organization. There are thirty-two chapters, many of them but three to six pages in length. This bewildering array of short chapters in so slender a book is destructive of unity. An index would add greatly to the value of the book. One may cite the colloquial uses of "so" (pp. 31, 79, 94, 112, 115, 180), and the monotonous vocabulary (as illustrated in the tiresome repetition of the word "another," pp. 37, 38). The misuse of "due to" (opening paragraph, p. 82) is a common grammatical error. In the opinion of the reviewer the long sentence in the last paragraph on page 200 is very poorly constructed. These may be regarded as comparatively slight blemishes; but they do detract from the literary level of critical workmanship. To historically-minded students the citation of first accomplishments of the Shawnee Indians is a welcome contribution, but there is a question about the statement that "The Shawnee Indians were the first body of people to advocate prohibition" (p. 48). The dates given are 1733-34. Students of the history of Maryland, Connecticut, and Virginia can cite evidence to the effect that action was taken in these colonies on the prohibition problem as early as the seventeenth century.

There are, on the other hand, many commendable details. The style has a natural, easy flow. The tone is sympathetic, but not blindly indulgent. There are eleven illustrations of varying importance. The Appendix on the Absentee Shawnee

Indians contains some very valuable information. This volume is, furthermore, a model of bookmaker's art. It is composed on the monotype in twelve point Baskerville, as the printer explains. The format is admirably artistic in plan and workmanship.

Thomas Wildcat Alford may not be considered by historians as an Indian of first importance, but in the picture of his life and character we have an honest story of a vanishing Indian culture and a valuable study of the assimilation problem.

—C. W. Patton

Oklahoma Baptist University

A Rider of The Cherokee Strip. Evan G. Barnard (E. E. Dale, editor). Boston, 1936. Pp. 233. $2.50.

The author of this story is the son of a Presbyterian minister who with a family of four children moved over the area from Pennsylvania to Iowa. Whatever "the typical preacher's son" may mean, the author was that. He learned soon to take care of himself and ride freight trains. Finally, when life became drab for him, he left Iowa for a ranch in Texas. (His brother, George Grey Barnard, was attracted to the cultural art of sculpture and became foremost in this field.) In Texas "Parson" Barnard served time as a tenderfoot, but soon became an experienced cowhand, riding well, shooting straight, roping expertly, and riding a line to the satisfaction of his employer.

The grass land in Oklahoma offered opportunity for thousands of head of cattle where ranchmen sent their herds, and among the drivers was "Parson." Here he rode as in Texas and had he been alone on the line he would have grown lonesome, but Oklahoma was filled with company—plains Indians, soldiers, and outlaws. Of these he could make no choice. Each day was eventful as he ranged from the Washita to the village of Tulsa. His story as a cowhand has equals, but few surpass it. He saw the transition from a plains country roamed by

Indians to a cattle country which in turn gave way to the Boomers and the "opening" to white settlement.

Like hundreds of cowboys out of a job he "took a claim," tried to learn farming along with others who knew nothing about it. No better story has been told of the transition from a farming frontier to the established agricultural life of the great wheat areas of northwestern Oklahoma. Crude social life and economic hardships constituted the bill of fare until railroads, towns, and schools were built. Finally, as a successful farmer he tried politics which proved harder to ride than the wild cow pony.

In the late afternoon of his life "Parson" Barnard has recorded his experiences—1865 to the present. It has many parallels, but few men have stopped long enough to tell a story of this scantily written about period in Oklahoma history. He has done it well. Adventure, danger, tragedy, and humor cut across the pages to the delight and interest of the reader. It is an excellent tale of the old West that has disappeared. This generation, in progress, is so far removed in a few short years from a bygone day that it is startling to think that one man's life spans such an epoch. It is a valuable contribution to Oklahoma history.

The editor, E. E. Dale, of the University of Oklahoma, deserves much credit for helping to salvage this epic. His service in this field is a contribution of importance.

—M. L. Wardell.

The Chisholm Trail and Other Routes, by T. U. Taylor.—800, cloth. illus. Pp. 220-8. The Frontier Times, publishers, Bandera, Texas. $2.00.

The Chisholm Trail, by Sam P. Ridings. — large 800, cloth. Illus. Pp. 592-6. Co-operative Publishing Co., Guthrie, Okla. Price, $3.50.

The Chisholm Trail waited a long time for accurate definitive and descriptive literary interpretation by writers who were inspired by a desire to preserve the story of its place in the history of the range cattle industry in the pioneering period of the Southern Plains Region. By strange coincidence, two writers, whose environmental associations, experiences and observations had served to give to each a large measure of personal interest in the theme were contemporaneously working upon it, wholly independent of, and unknown to each other. Andy Adams' *Reid Anthony, Cowman* and Hubert Collins' *War Path and Cattle Trail* had depicted some of the scenes of life on the historic wilderness highway while the lyric lines of Earl A. Brininstool's "Upon the Chisholm Trail" and those of like vein from other bards and minstrels of the Southwest had given hint of real historical background. And it so happened that the two books came from the publishers within a single week and the local literature and history of Oklahoma is the richer for their respective efforts.

Professor T. U. Taylor, who had but recently retired from many years' service as the premier dean of the College of Engineering in the University of Texas, a native of Tennessee, who was reared in the great "Lone Star" state, became inspired with a desire to write the story of the Chisholm Trail because of the fact that attempts were being made to expropriate its name and apply it to another trail 100 miles distant. Dean Taylor objected to such a change for the reason that part of his boyhood life had been lived adjacent to the other trail and he knew the application of the name Chisholm thereto would be a misnomer. Incidentally the author discusses the history of the overland drovers' industry from its beginning, back in the days of Mexican sovereignty, when herds of cattle were driven from southern Texas to a market at New Orleans.

Considerable space is devoted to biographical data pertaining to leading ranchmen and trail drivers of Texas. When the first histories of Oklahoma were printed and published, thirty years ago, some Texans then resident in Oklahoma were

inclined to be caustically critical because of the statement that the Trail had been named for Jesse Chisholm, asserting that it was so designated in honor of John S. "Chisum" a Texas ranchman who was alleged to have driven the first herd northward to Kansas in 1867. This version was quickly disproven by investigation among Texas authorities, however, The author settles this matter by submitting the story of the real life of John S. Chisholm, or "Chisum," which is in itself very interesting.

The author draws heavily on the book *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade in the Southwest* by Joseph G. McCoy, the man who dreamed the dream of the cattle trail and then made it come true, as well as other documentary references, including especially *The Trail Drivers of Texas* by George W. Saunders and Marvin Hunter. Much of McCoy's narrative of the opening of the Abilene cattle market is included. One of the most interesting features of the volume is the "Calendar of the Trail," which presents in chronological order a list of owners and herds which were driven up the trail each year until it ceased to be used for that purpose. It is probably far from complete, yet, even so, it is exceedingly interesting. In addition to the biographies of leading cattle men, there is an appendix which contains the names of over 2000 trail drivers, in alphabetical order. Also a whole chapter is devoted to "The Ladies of the Trail" who helped to make some of the long drives.

The volume of which Mr. Ridings is the author is not only larger, but is otherwise more pretentious in its proportions and contents than that of Dean Taylor. For one thing it is much more fully illustrated. Like the other volume, this one devotes due space to a biographic sketch of Jesse Chisholm. There is, likewise, a chapter devoted to John S. Chisholm or "Chisum" who is believed to have been a kinsman, possibly not many degrees removed, of the illustrious frontierman for whom the trail was named. There are a number of chapters devoted to biographic sketches of other men who were promi-

nently connected with the range and drovers' industries, though not all of these had a great deal to do with the trail. Among these may be mentioned Oliver W. Wheeler, Charles Goodnight, C. C. Slaughter, Joseph G. McCoy—who proposed the first cattle trail—William E. Malaley and Ben F. Williams. A chapter is devoted to U. S. Indian Agent, Brinton Darlington, and his Quakers, another to the Darlington Agency (Cheyenne and Arapaho) and two chapters to "Indian tribes familiar to the trail"—pertaining more particularly to the Arapaho and Cheyenne—and a full chapter to the Cherokee tribe which owned the Outlet, over which the Trail passed and that was leased to cattlemen for grazing purposes. The Wichita and affiliated Indian tribes forms the subject of another chapter, as does "the cattle industry in the Indian Territory," and also, the Cherokee Strip Live-Stock Association, very naturally forms the theme of another chapter. "The Cowboy" is treated in a separate chapter as also is "Tales of the Cow-camp and Breaking in a Cowboy." "A Day on the Roundup and Days on the Lone Cow Trail" each fill allotted space, likewise "Mexicans as Trailmen and their Habits." Nor would such a list of themes be complete without one entitled "Horses of the Frontier." "The Freighter" comes in for graphic depiction also.

Tragedy stalked the old Trail, as related in a chapter entitled "Pond Creek Ranch and Graves near the Same," and another entitled "The Death of Pat Hennessey." "A Romance and Tragedy of the Plains" fills one chapter, "The Killing of Ed Short and Charley Bryant," another, while "The Talbot Raid," "Hendry Brown" and "The Capture of Frank Swaggart by the Indians" furnished titles for others.

"Cowboy Capitals" and "Government Openings for Settlement along the Trail" and County Seat Fights and "Railway Wars" tell of the years after homestead settlement. "Matters of Sundry Interest" and "Preserving the Name and Location of the Trail" bring the volume to its conclusion.

Each of the volumes described in the foregoing is well indexed. Errors in statement as to dates or other details, or typographical mistakes are few and far between. That the work of research and compilation of each of these volumes has been a labor of love for the authors is evident on almost every page. Both works bear evidence of thorough and patient research and will doubtless prove of great interest to general readers as well as to students of local history throughout the region traversed by this historic old trail. —Joseph B. Thoburn.

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, OCTOBER 29, 1936.

The regular quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society convened in the Historical building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, October 29, 1936, at 10:00 A. M., with Judge Thomas H. Doyle, President, presiding.

The Secretary called the roll which showed the following members present:

Judge Harry Campbell, Dr. E. E. Dale, Judge Thomas H. Doyle, Mr. George H. Evans, Dr. Grant Foreman, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Mrs. Frank Korn, Mrs. Blanche Lucas, Mr. John B. Meserve, Mr. W. J. Peterson, Mr. Jasper Sipes, Judge Baxter Taylor, Dr. J. B. Thoburn, Judge William P. Thompson, Mrs. John R. Williams, Judge R. L. Williams, and James W. Moffitt, the Secretary.

The Secretary reported that messages had been received from Gen. Charles F. Barrett, Judge Thomas A. Edwards, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Judge Samuel W. Hayes, Gen. William S. Key and Mrs. Jessie E. Moore notifying him of their inability to attend this meeting, and that Mrs. Roberta C. Lawson was out of the state, and upon motion of Judge R. L. Williams the reasons given were deemed sufficient and all were excused for not being present.

The Secretary presented the minutes of the Board meeting, not including those of the executive session, held July 23, 1936, which upon motion of Dr. Grant Foreman were approved.

The Secretary read his report on the activities of the Society.

The Secretary read a letter which he had addressed to the President regarding the appointment of a committee as provided in the Constitution and By-Laws, to arrange special programs in each county of the state.

The Secretary read the report of the Library and Museum Committee, recommending the acceptance of a loan of autographs tendered the Society by Mr. Leonard J. Woodruff, Ardmore and Los Angeles, and recommended that a map cabinet be purchased at a price of $153.50 and that a requisition asking for $200.00 for the purchase of books be approved.

Mrs. Frank Korn moved that the loan of autographs be accepted. Motion was seconded.

Judge R. L. Williams moved to amend by adding that it be stipulated that this Board assumes no liability for this loan on account of damages either in transportation or housing, and that an inventory of same be placed in the minutes, and that the loaner sign a contract waiving any claims for damages as against the Society.

The amendment was accepted and the motion as amended was carried.

Mrs. John R. Williams made a report on the promised picture of the Governor, and added that several former Governors had promised their portraits for the Society.

Judge R. L. Williams moved that Mrs. John R. Williams be thanked for her services and that she be continued on this committee to take up with the present Governor and the State Board of Affairs the question of having the photographs of all former Governors, including Territorial Governors, which hang on the walls of the Executive Chamber transferred

to the Historical building, except in case of the sitting Governor which is to be retained in the Governor's office during his incumbency, and when he retires that it then be transferred to the Historical Society. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge R. L. Williams reported that Senator W. B. Pine had indicated his willingness to present his portrait to the Historical Society.

Dr. Grant Foreman moved that the Secretary write to Senator Pine and solicit the portrait and thank him for his generous offer. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge Baxter Taylor moved that we respectfully invite all United State Senators from Oklahoma, or their families, to present the Senators' portraits to the Historical Society. Motion was seconded.

Mr. John B. Meserve moved to amend by adding that they be requested to have the portrait autographed where practicable. The amendment was accepted and the motion as amended was unanimously carried.

The Secretary read the following list of applicants for membership in the Society:

LIFE: Robert Alexander Hefner, III, Oklahoma City.

ANNUAL: J. P. Brown, Chattanooga, Tennessee; Miss Stella L. Carter, University, Virginia; Mrs. June Doser, Oklahoma City; Miss Frances Engle, Tulsa; Mrs. Eliza James, Wapanucka; Mrs. R. C. Mills, Oklahoma City; David Monsoor, La Crosse, Wisconsin; C. W. Patton, Shawnee; Carl L. Rice, Tulsa; Neill Sanborn, Muskogee; Miss Eldee Starr, Tulsa; Dean Trickett, Tulsa; Mrs. F. W. Watts, Shawnee; C. S. Willett, Oklahoma City; Oral Lee Wilson, Carter; and Allan B. Winkler, Tonkawa.

Mr. John B. Meserve moved that they be elected and received into membership. Motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Dr. Grant Foreman told of his recent visit to the London Museum where he found much material in the archives concerning the Indians living in southern United States.

Judge R. L. Williams moved that Dr. Grant Foreman be authorized in the name of the Oklahoma Historical Society to do all things necessary to secure photostats of the archives or copies through the proper agency, from the London Museum to be photostated or copied. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge R. L. Williams moved that the Secretary and Dr. Grant Foreman be authorized to secure original papers and documents from historical societies, domestic, foreign and antiquarian and the Congressional Library for copying or photostating, and to do all things necessary thereto in the name of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge R. L. Williams moved that the Secretary secure a copy of the centennial edition of the Arkansas Gazette, 1936. Motion was seconded and carried.

Dr. Grant Foreman reported on the Fort Gibson memorial and explained that the Daughters of 1812 were planning to erect a monument to Matthew Arbuckle, and moved that they be given permission to erect it on a corner of the lot owned by the State near the old barracks building. Motion was seconded and carried.

The Secretary read a list of recent gifts to the Library and Judge R. L. Williams moved that the donors be thanked. Motion was seconded and carried.

The Secretary read the report of the committee on prizes to be offered to high school and Junior College seniors.

Judge R. L. Williams moved that the Secretary and the editorial committee be requested to publish the report in the December Chronicles. Motion was seconded and carried.

Dr. E. E. Dale moved that two copies of each essay submitted shall be the property of the Historical Society, one of which shall be retained with the privilege of publishing it. Motion was seconded and carried.

The Secretary read the report of the art committee, which included a list of articles recently donated to the Museum, and the committee also recommended that the loan of the Leonard J. Woodruff pictures be accepted.

Mr. W. J. Peterson moved that we extend a vote of thanks to the various donors. Motion was seconded and carried.

Mr. Jasper Sipes moved that the Secretary acknowledge receipt of all portraits recently received in the name of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge R. L. Williams discussed the transfer of State and County records, as provided for at the last meeting of the Board, and moved that the Secretary request the Governor to order the transfer of the sum of $250.00 from the publication fund to the transportation fund, to provide for this extra transportation of State and County records to the Historical building. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge Harry Campbell, chairman of the committee on marking historical spots in the State, made a verbal report.

Mr. John B. Meserve reported that he had been asked by this committee to draft a tentative bill to be introduced in the next session of the Legislature, providing for the marking of historical spots, which he had prepared.

Dr. J. B. Thoburn discussed the marking of the grave of Jesse Chisholm, and moved that it be declared the sense of this Board that whatever marker be placed on the Jesse Chisholm grave that it be a state monument. Motion was seconded and carried.

The President read a resolution passed by the 1925 Legislature, whereby granite monuments and markers could be obtained through the State Board of Affairs at cost.

Mrs. Blanche Lucas, a member of the Art Committee, requested that Mrs. C. C. Conlan make a report on the loan offered by Mr. Leonard J. Woodruff, of Ardmore and Los Angeles. Mrs. Conlan explained the nature of the loan.

Judge R. L. Williams moved to add to his first motion concerning this loan that all contracts for this loan, as herein before provided, must be made with the approval of the Attorney General, which was accepted and adopted.

Judge William P. Thompson gave a report on the marking of the northeast corner of the State.

Judge Harry Campbell reported that Mr. Cyrus Avery, director of District No. 1, W. P. A., would arrange to have the marker completed for the Oklahoma, Missouri and Kansas point, but that the marker for the point where Missouri, Oklahoma and Arkansas joins was indefinite.

Judge R. L. Williams reported that Robert M. Jones, a prominent Choctaw, was buried about four and a half miles southeast of Hugo in a private cemetery, and read a letter from the guardian of the only heir to the property on which this cemetery is located, and moved that the Board authorize a committee consisting of Col. A. N. Leecraft and Dr. W. B. Morrison of Durant, Dr. G. E. Harris of Hugo and Mr. W. A. Loftin of Idabel to take up with Gen. William S. Key the matter of having a wall

100 feet by 100 feet constructed on this cemetery and also be authorized to make an agreement with the guardian to secure a deed from the owner of the property for a plot 300 feet by 300 feet, have it surveyed, and take the deed in the name of the State for the Society. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge William P. Thompson moved that Judge R. L. Williams be added to this committee, as chairman, which upon being seconded was carried.

Dr. E. E. Dale discussed the exchange of duplicate books and material from the Frank Phillips collection.

Judge R. L. Williams moved that the Secretary be authorized to receive applications for exchanges and make reports thereon to the Library and Museum Committee and that this committee be authorized to examine and determine the value of the books or material offered for exchange and report to the Board for a final decision as to the exchanges. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge R. L. Williams moved that an enlarged portrait of Jacob Jacobson be made in size and quality of those already on the walls of the Museum of the Choctaw Governors and that it be paid for out of the appropriation if available and if not then out of the private funds of the Society, and that the original photograph be turned over to Mr. John B. Meserve to use with this forthcoming article relative to Wm. N. Jones and Jacob B. Jackson. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge R. L. Williams discussed the proposed park at Fort Gibson, which is a part of the old military reservation, and moved that it be recommended to be named the Montfort Stokes Park. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge R. L. Williams read a resolution passed by the old settlers at Muskogee, to be filed with the Secretary. The President ordered it received.

Judge R. L. Williams moved that Dr. J. B. Thoburn and Mr. John B. Meserve be added to the Editorial and Publication Committee. Motion was seconded and carried.

The President presented the claim of $1025.00 for twenty steel filing cases for the Indian archives for the consideration of the Board.

Judge R. L. Williams moved that the President be authorized to approve the claim for the said twenty steel filing cases. Motion was seconded and carried.

The Secretary presented the request of the supervisor of the Historical Society WPA project for $250.00 to continue the project to March 1, 1937, said sum to be used for supplies for the workers and rent on typewriters.

Judge R. L. Williams moved that the sum of $250.00 be allowed for this purpose, provided that it has the approval of Gen. William S. Key, the State Director of the WPA. Motion was seconded and carried.

Mrs. Blanche Lucas, member of the Art Committee, reported on hanging pictures, and requested that the portraits of the members of the Board of Directors be hung in the Directors' room.

Judge R. L. Williams moved that none except experts be allowed to handle the newspaper files. Motion was seconded and carried.

The question of need for additional steel filing cases for the Indian archives was discussed; and Judge R. L. Williams, Chairman of the committee having supervision of the Indian archives, moved that the purchase of an additional sixteen steel filing cases be approved. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge R. L. Williams moved that the balance of the publication fund, except $1250.00 to be retained in the Dan W. Peery matter, be transferred to the office supply fund for supplies for the office and the photostat machine. Motion was seconded and carried.

The Secretary was granted permission to attend the meeting of the Southern Historical Association to be held at Nashville, Tennessee.

Dr. E. E. Dale moved that the matter of book reviews be referred to the editorial and publication committee. Motion was seconded and carried.

The matter of the Spiro lease for archaeological excavations authorized by the Board at the meeting held April 23, 1936, was discussed, and Judge R. L. Williams moved that the Secretary be requested to ask Dr. Forrest Clements and the Chairman of that committee to make a report as to results. Motion was seconded and carried.

The Board resolved itself into an executive session.

Upon returning to the open session, the Society stood adjourned.

JUDGE THOMAS H. DOYLE, President,
Presiding.

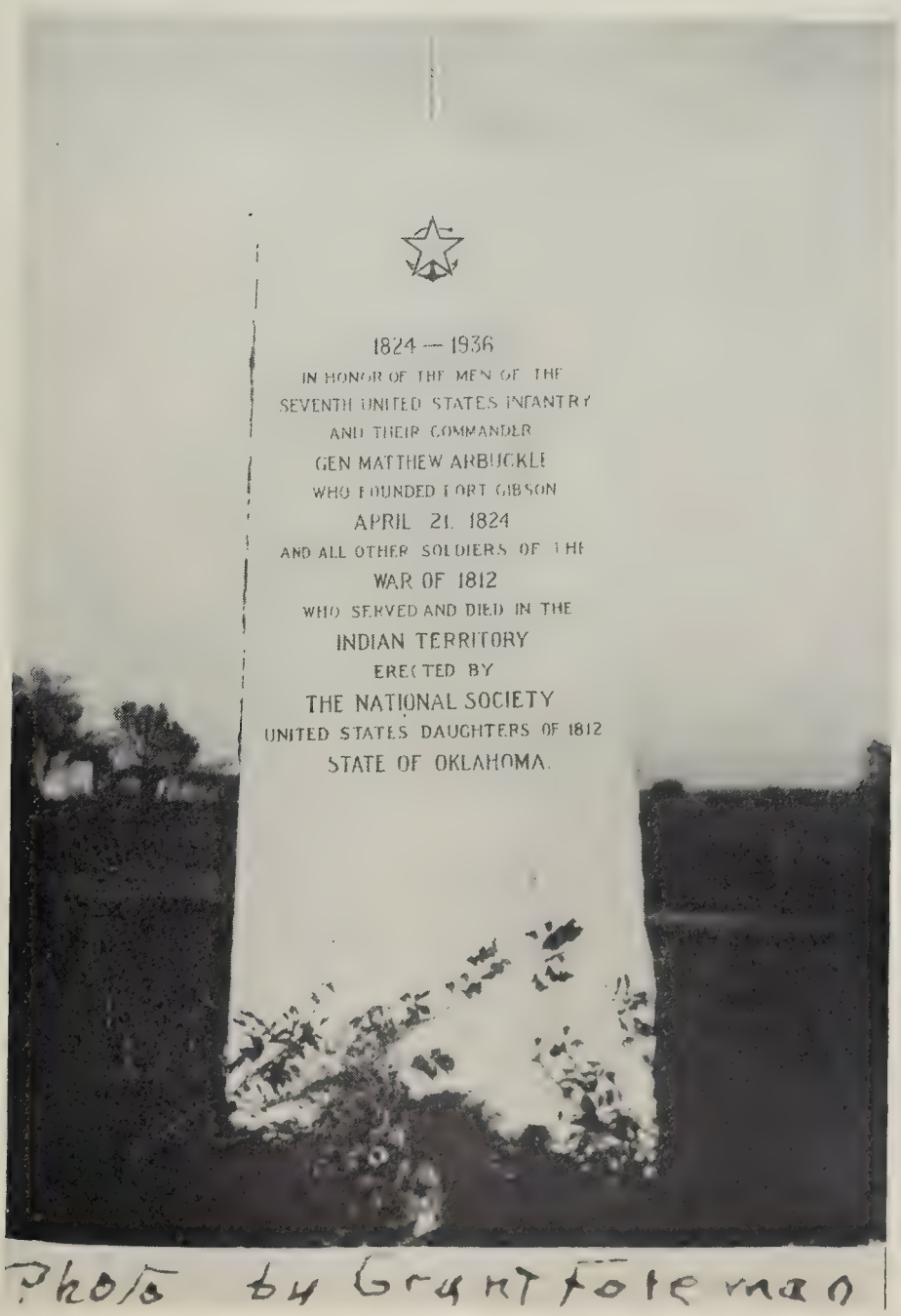
JAMES W. MOFFITT, Secretary.

DEDICATORY SERVICES AT FORT GIBSON

Impressive exercises were held upon ground immediately adjoining the old barracks building at historic Ft. Gibson, on Saturday, November 14, 1936. It was the occasion of the unveiling of the Arbuckle memorial recently contributed by the Oklahoma State Society of the United States Daughters of 1812. A seventy-two foot flag pole, from which the National colors fly, was also a gift of the same organization of patriotic ladies. The Historical Society also participated in the exercises and rededicated the old barracks building which has been rehabilitated.

The interesting event was opened by the singing of the National anthem by the girls' glee club from Bacone College, led by Mr. Gordon Berger. The assemblage stood at attention as the beautiful flag, donated by the ladies of this patriotic society, was raised by Miss Zannie May, the young daughter of Mrs. Everett Manning of Tulsa, a former State President of the society. Greetings of welcome were extended by Hon. Q. B. Boydston of Muskogee after which addresses were made by Dr. Grant Foreman and Dr. B. D. Weeks. These two gentlemen carefully reviewed the interesting career of Gen. Matthew Arbuckle and the Seventh U. S. Infantry in the old Indian Territory during those early formative days. A splendid address eulogistic of Gen. Arbuckle was delivered by Mrs. Grover C. Spillers of Tulsa. The exercises were concluded by an impressive address by Mrs. Howard Searcy of Wagoner, who unveiled the memorial.

The memorial is a marble column, eight feet wide and twelve feet high, upon which is inscribed the seal of the organization, being a star over an anchor with the letters "U. S. D. 1812" in the center and the words, "In honor of the Men of the Seventh United States Infantry, and their commander, Gen. Matthew Arbuckle, who founded Ft. Gibson, April 12,



Monument erected at Fort Gibson, by The National Society, United States Daughters of 1812.

1824 and all other Soldiers of the War of 1812 who served and died in the Indian Territory, erected by the National Society United States Daughters of 1812, State of Oklahoma."

It is an imposing memorial and a most worthy contribution by the ladies of this patriotic organization. The ladies of this society, led by Mrs. Howard Searcy, their State President, are entitled to our thanks for this splendid contribution.

The recent restoration of the old Stockade and the old barracks building at Ft. Gibson are most worthy accomplishments undertaken by the Historical Society, under the capable and unselfish leadership of Dr. Grant Foreman. These gestures will preserve the rich historic past of the State. The lines of Byron are so apropos,

"There is given
Unto the things of earth which time hath bent,
A spirit's feeling, and where he hath leant
His hand, but broke his scythe, there is power
And magic in the ruined battlement,
For which the palace of the present hour
Must yield its pomp and wait till ages are its dower."

—J. B. M.

IN MEMORIAM

PROCEEDINGS ON THE DEATH OF MR. JUSTICE CHARLES M. THACKER

Be it remembered that on this April 8, 1918, Supreme Court convened pursuant to adjournment of April 2, 1918.

Present: J. F. Sharp, Chief Justice; Matthew J. Kane, Summers Hardy, T. H. Owen, R. Brett, J. H. Miley, R. M. Rainey, and B. L. Tisinger, Associate Justices; W. M. Franklin, Clerk; W. T. Field, Marshal.

Publis proclamation of the opening of court having been made for the transaction of such business as might properly come before it, the following proceedings were had, towit:

And now on this day memorial services were held out of respect for and in memory of Mr. Justice Charles M. Thacker, whose death occurred February 17, 1918.

On motion of Judge T. P. Clay, it is ordered by the court that resolutions submitted and addresses be spread of record upon the records of the Supreme Court.

ADDRESS OF HON. THOS. H. DOYLE, PRESIDING JUDGE OF THE CRIMINAL COURT OF APPEALS.

Mr. Chief Justice and Brethren of the Bench and Bar:

In the untimely death of Hon. Charles M. Thacker, this honorable court, and the state and people of Oklahoma, have sustained a great bereavement.

In the prime of manhood, in the zenith of his usefulness and in the midst of his labors, he was cut down by the Grim Reaper, and it is fitting that in this hall of justice we are assembled to honor his memory by paying tribute to his exalted

character, and by recalling those qualities that made him conspicuous as an able, just, and upright judge.

For twenty years I knew him intimately, and I should do less than justice to the emotions of the hour if I did not add a simple tribute of esteem, and of respect to the memory of one whose friendship is an honor of my life.

Born in Virginia, a son of the "Old Dominion," in his early manhood he moved to Texas, and was there admitted to the bar.

On April 22, 1889, Oklahoma was first opened to white settlement. About that time Judge Thacker located at Mangum, Greer County, then under the jurisdiction of Texas, and engaged in the practice of his profession, and there resided until the time of his death. Thus it was that the practical life work of Judge Thacker was almost wholly within what is now the state of Oklahoma, and his career as a citizen, lawyer, legislator, and judge has deeply impressed itself upon the history of Oklahoma, territory and state. It has been truly said that Judge Thacker was one of the fathers and founders of the state.

During his residence at Mangum, for nearly twenty-nine years, Judge Thacker occupied many positions, professional and lay; executive, legislative, and judicial. When on March 16, 1896, the Supreme Court of the United States decided that Greer county was not a part of the State of Texas, he had served as county attorney and as county judge of said county.

In 1898 he was elected to the upper house of the Territorial Assembly from the Thirteenth district, composed of the old original counties of Beaver, Woodward, Day, Dewey, Custer, Washita, Roger Mills, and Greer. I was re-elected as a member of the lower house that year. Thus, it was my good fortune to be associated with him as a legislator, and for several years last past we served together as members of the board of directors of the State Historical Society.

In 1900 Judge Thacker was elected county attorney of Greer county, and by successive elections was continued in that office until Oklahoma was admitted as a state. For nearly seven years preceding statehood, he served as a member of the board of regents of the territorial normal schools. In 1903 he was elected mayor of Mangum, his home city, and served the term. On March 19, 1913, he was by this honorable court appointed as a member from the state at large to the Supreme Court Commission, and occupied this position until he took his seat on the Supreme Bench, having been appointed by Governor Williams, November 1, 1915, for the unexpired term of the lamented Justice Brown. At the general election in 1916, he was elected to succeed himself for the full term of six years. So far as I know, or have been able to learn, these offices rather sought him than he them. He filled all these offices with singular fidelity and zeal, and to say that he filled them with ability would be but faint praise.

Judge Thacker had a deep sense of the duties of life in all its relations, and he was always true to his own sense of duty. In his character were mixed and blended all those traits and elements which go to make up God's noblest work, an honest man. He was not a man of genius, but he had a force of character, a firmness of will, and a strength of conviction which made his high ability of more value than genius.

As a judge he was able, faithful, fearless, and upright, and he has left his character stamped upon our jurisprudence in no faint or feeble lines. It is not fulsome praise to say that he was as conscientious a judge as ever occupied the bench in any country at any time.

He possessed, as he deserved, in the highest degree, the confidence and esteem of the people of the state, and now looking over his life work the people of Oklahoma must feel a just pride in remembering that he was one of them when they were but a few thousands in a territory, and now are more than two millions in population, dwelling in a commonwealth

whose laws are a monument of honor to the state, and that he aided and assisted in nearly all that has been done. He was proud of his adopted state and wished to honor it, as it had honored him.

That which makes a state great is the character of its citizens. One of the strongest influences in the moulding of character is the example of the great and good who have passed on to their eternal reward. It has been well and truly said that, "To set a lofty example is the richest bequest a man can leave behind him."

He has gone from us forever, but he has left to us and to those who shall come after us the priceless legacy of his example.

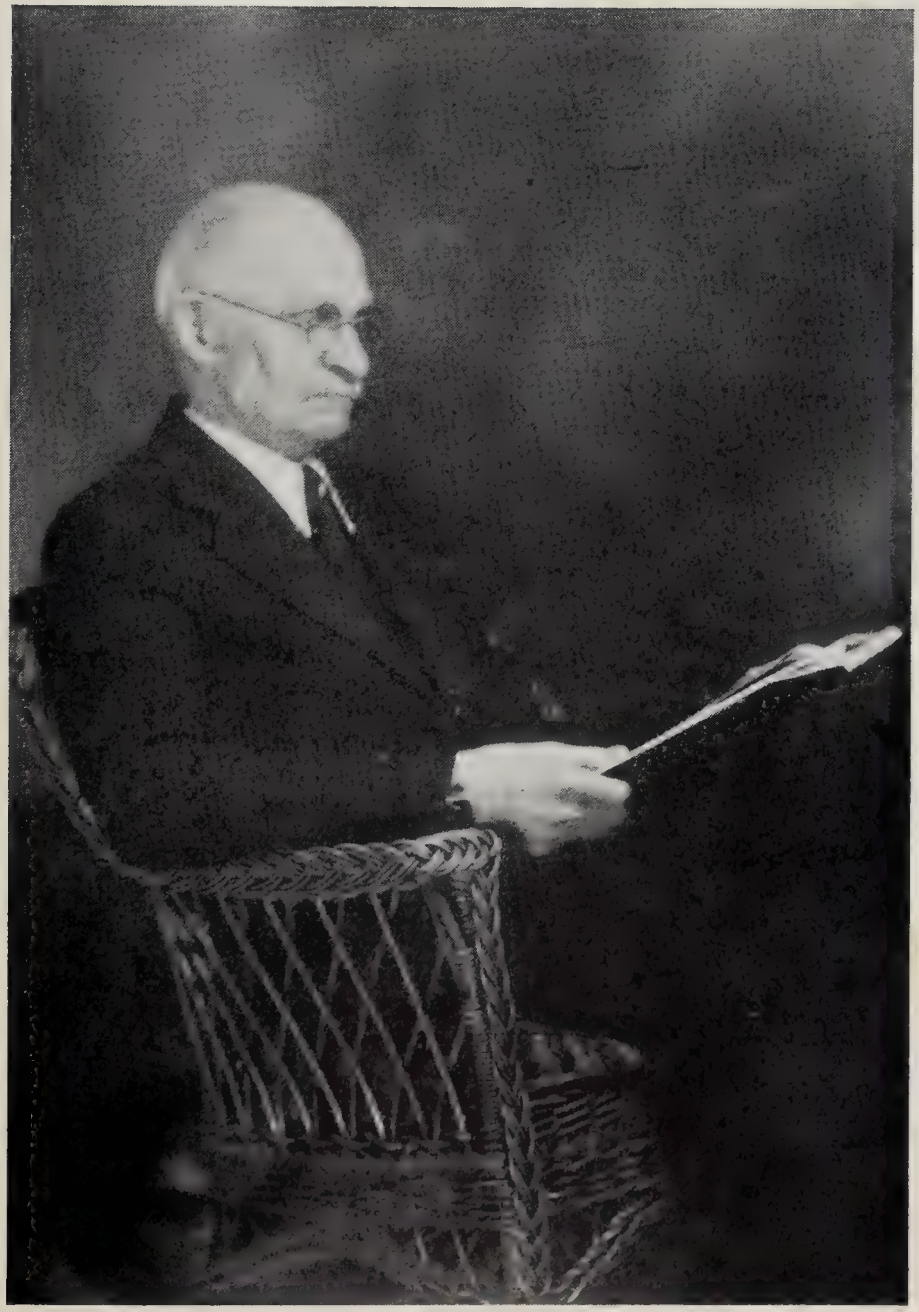
DR. CHARLES FRANCIS MESERVE
1850—1936

Haskell Institute, an industrial training school for Indian youth maintained by the Government at Lawrence, Kansas, was established in 1882 and formally opened in the fall of 1884. It has become the alma mater of many Oklahoma Indians who hold fondly cherished memories of the patient, kindly superintendent of that institution, of some forty-five years ago and the recent passing of Dr. Charles Francis Meserve has closed another chapter for them.

Charles Francis Meserve, a son of Charles and Susanna (Blanchard) Meserve, was born at North Abington, Massachusetts on July 15, 1850. His ancestry is easily traced back to one Clement Meserve, a French emigrant lad who came from the Isle of Jersey to Portsmouth, New Hampshire in 1673. He attended Colby University where he received his A. B. degree in 1877, his A. M. degree in 1880 and his L. L. D. degree in 1899. Dr. Meserve entered the domain of educational instruction as principal of the High School at Rockland, Mass., where he served from 1877 to 1885 and thereafter occupied the same position in the Oak Street School at Springfield, Massachusetts, from 1885 to 1889. He became superintendent of Haskell Institute in 1889 and served until 1894. His labors at Haskell became the inspiration for his more intensive study of our Indian problems toward the solution of which he was to become a contributing factor. In his annual report of 1892, Superintendent Meserve reports an attendance at Haskell of 531 pupils, mostly from the Indian Territory and of his own defined purposes, says, "My aim has been to teach these children of nature, reverence for God, cleanliness of body and mind, truthfulness, respect for the rights of others, habits of industry and frugality and a recognition of obligations that arise from being members of society." His creed of service was complete.

During the summer of 1894, Dr. Meserve, at the instance of the Indian Rights Association of Philadelphia, made a tour of observation among the Indians and the Indian schools of Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma and Kansas. His report of this trip was published and contained many highly illuminative suggestions. Early in 1896 the Indian Rights Association sent him to the Indian Territory to make a survey of conditions among the Five Civilized Tribes and report his observations and recommendations. This report published in 1896 under the title of "The Dawes Commission and the Five Civilized Tribes of the Indian Territory," is of great value to the student of Indian history in Oklahoma because of its accurate portrayal of conditions in the old Territory at that time. His survey, being contemporaneous with the period of which he wrote, preserves a true and lasting picture of a period which is now rapidly fading. It was written during the years when the Dawes Commission was putting forth its initial efforts. Dr. Meserve boldly vindicated the Commission in its labor against adverse conditions. He rendered valuable assistance to the Commission through the first hand information he had obtained and the counsel which he gave. Senator Dawes, in an address before the Lake Mohonk Indian Conference on October 14, 1896 gave outspoken credit to Dr. Meserve for his service to the Dawes Commission.

The interest of Dr. Meserve in the Indian inspired his faithful efforts toward the education of the negro youth to which sacrifice his life thereafter became dedicated. His New England environs may have influenced his interest in the negro. He became a confidant and inspiration of the late Booker T. Washington. He became president of Shaw University at Raleigh, North Carolina in 1894 in which capacity he served until 1920



DR. CHARLES FRANCIS MESERVE

and thereafter until his death, as its president emeritus. For forty-two years he spent the scholastic months at Raleigh, retiring each summer to his comfortable home at Squirrel Island, Maine. The education of the Indian and the negro youth were the engaging efforts of his life. He was a most entertaining lecturer and public speaker as he strove to lift the educational, moral, and spiritual standards of the red and colored races. These people will ever pause in recognition of his unselfish service to them.

Dr. Meserve married Abbie Mary Whittier of Bangor, Maine on November 19, 1878 and after her death married Julia Frances Philbrick of Waterville, Maine, on May 16, 1900. He was an earnest member of the Baptist church and a Phi Beta Kappa. He had been, since 1920, the life president of the Maine Meserve Family Association. Dr. Charles Francis Meserve passed away at his home at Raleigh, North Carolina, on April 20, 1936, in the 86th year of his age, a loved and respected character. He is buried at Waterville, Maine.

He had ever walked in the shadow of the Cross. —J. B. M.

NOTES

The Newspaper publishers of Oklahoma, the Southern Historical Association, State historical societies and other learned institutions are rendering valuable services to the Oklahoma Historical Society through their willingness to exchange their publications with the *Chronicles of Oklahoma.* These publications are being carefully catalogued and preserved for students. The society wishes to express its thanks to donors for books, manuscripts, pictures, artifacts, and other historical material. The librarian is desirous of securing back numbers of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma.*

The Oklahoma Historical Society wishes to encourage its members and others who are interested in preserving sites and tombstones of many neglected graveyards which are scattered over the state. The society asks the co-operation of historical students and other persons in taking care of neglected graveyards and also in listing the names and inscriptions which remain on headstones in these old cemeteries. A record of a number of these people would be of great historical interest.

The Fort Gibson stockade and Sequoyah memorial were suitably dedicated and opened to the public in the early summer. The Historical Society wishes to commend those who contributed to the preservation of these interesting places. In another section of the Chronicles will be found an account of the dignified exercises held at Fort Gibson in connection with the unveiling of a handsome monument to the memory of Gen. Matthew Arbuckle and veterans of the war of 1812 who served at Fort Gibson.

The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania is making preparations for the celebration in 1937, at Philadelphia, of the One Hundred and Fiftieth anniversary of the adoption of our Federal Constitution, according to a notice received from Frank

W. Melvin, Chairman of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission.

Much valuable material has been placed in the custody of the archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society by the superintendents of the Indian agencies at Shawnee, Concho, and Anadarko in accordance with the Hastings Act. A beginning has been made in carrying out the state law for the providing for the transfer of state and county records which are not being used.

Invaluable assistance has been rendered by the WPA and those connected with it toward the indexing of the society's newspapers, in editing the papers of the chiefs of the Five Civilized Tribes, by the Survey of Federal Archives, and by the Survey of Historical Records. The society has cooperated in the compilation of a list of its newspapers for the Union List of Newspapers. The following organizations have been given the use of our auditorium: The Oklahoma Folk Festival Association, The State Association of County Officers, the Oklahoma County Farm Women's Federation, Boy Scouts, Oklahoma Memorial Association, Veterans of Foreign Wars, The United Daughters of the Confederacy, and The Association of Oklahoma Artists. Much interest has been displayed in the splendid exhibit of paintings of this association in the art gallery of the Oklahoma Historical Society building.

The Oklahoma Historical Society will sponsor an Oklahoma History contest for seniors; one for seniors in High-school, and one for seniors in Junior Colleges.

There are to be two allotments of prizes:

First prize—$25.00, Second prize—$20.00, Third prize—$15.00, Fourth prize—$10.00, and Fifth prize—$5.00. The prizes for each respective allotment are to be offered senior class students for the best article on towns, individuals who are deceased, true stories of experiences, early events in Oklahoma derived from family sources, instances of adventure in the early days of Oklahoma which old people could tell to their grand-children, experiences of pioneer settlers, or any other interesting events concerning Oklahoma History.

The paper must contain not less than twenty-five hundred words, and not more than five thousand. It must have a bibliography and foot-note citations. The paper must be accompanied by a certificate from the principal of the school that it is the original work of the student. Two typewritten copies of the article must be filed with the Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society, James W. Moffitt, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, by April 15, 1937.

Three judges will be chosen from the colleges in the state to select the best papers—five from the high-schools, and five from the Junior Colleges. These papers may be published in the Chronicles of Oklahoma.

If further information is needed it may be secured from the Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

The committee in charge of the contest:

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Chairman, Edmond, Oklahoma
Col. A. N. Leecraft, Durant, Oklahoma
Mr. John B. Meserve, Tulsa, Oklahoma
Judge Robert A. Hefner, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

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